

The Influence of Germany on the
American Men of Letters Who Studied at
Göttingen in the Early Nineteenth Century.

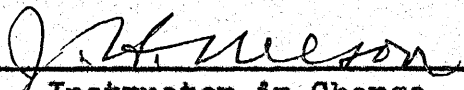
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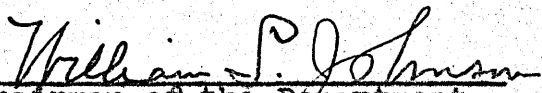
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Preface.

My general interest in Germany began with my freshman year in high school. During my first two years in high school I studied the German language under a native German who brought to her classroom that peculiar atmosphere which surrounds the German folktales. Then came the entry of the United States into the World War, and while George Creel and his propagandists were poisoning the minds of the people toward Germany, I lived in the home of an old German couple, who were an antidote for those who maintained that the Germans were barbarous Huns. Still later I studied German history under a Russian who had been educated in Germany. This Russian was fully in accord with German methods of education, and as a result I was thoroughly initiated into German history. Recently I had an occasion to refer to the notes which I kept on outside readings for this teacher, and I noticed that there were one hundred and fifty-six typewritten pages--just one of the four major assignments for a two hour college course.

When I first began gathering the materials for this thesis I expected to write on the influence of Germany on American men of letters who visited Germany in the nineteenth century. I knew that certain outstanding American authors like Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and Bayard Taylor had been in Germany, and that their visits had influenced their writings. I soon found, however, that I was confronted with the problem

of limiting my subject. Far more American men of letters had visited Germany in the nineteenth century than I had ever supposed, and some of them, like Oliver Wendell Holmes, while eminent in letters, had made only a flying trip through Germany.

In the meantime I had discovered that the nineteenth-century American authors who first went to Germany were students. They were young men, and they went there before they had produced works that would give them any claim to the title of author. I therefore centered my reading around these men, and found that a group of them had gone to the University of Göttingen. To these men I decided to confine the limits of my thesis because they constituted a single group, because they were influenced by their residence abroad to a marked degree in most instances, and because they later attained eminence in the field of American letters and exerted a tremendous influence in American life. Such a limitation solved the problem of having to deal with a large number of Americans, excluding all those who had gone to Germany for travel exclusively and all those who had gone to other German universities to study.

The men herein treated are listed in the order in which they went to Germany, except the two who went together--George Ticknor and Edward Everett. After an Introduction in which I attempt to give some account of the influence on American literature as a result of the studies and visits of these men, a separate section is devoted to each man. If an author made more than one trip to Germany, an account of each

trip is given, if possible. For every trip the reasons for going are stated, and if the trip took the author to countries other than Germany, an account of the entire trip abroad is given. The author's period in Germany, however, is treated in more detail. In every case I attempt to mention the things which interested the author, a few of the eminent people he met, what he thought of the German people and of their schools and literature, what literary subjects he took from Germany, and how the trips affected his life, if they did.

I wish to express my appreciation to Dr. E. M. Hopkins and Dr. J. H. Nelson for their interest in my project and for their kind criticisms of my work. I wish also to express my appreciation to the librarians of the University of Kansas and the Kansas State Teachers College at Emporia for their cooperation, often to the degree of inconveniencing themselves, in furnishing me with materials.

Introduction

"At the end of the eighteenth century," says Henderson, "there were in Germany no less than three hundred independent sovereignties, ecclesiastical states, or free cities, not to speak of fifteen hundred imperial knights with jurisdiction over their subjects."¹ And when one recalls that Germany was then no larger than the present state of Texas, one can fairly realize the degree to which the country was cut up into small provinces. Yet at this very time, despite the fact that these small independent units were continually at war with one another, there was in full progress a creative period in thought and literature comparable to the Elizabethan age in England.

During the whole of this creative period Americans and Englishmen were scarcely conscious that a new national literature was being born in Germany. One does not have to search far to find the reason for this lack of knowledge on the part of Americans and Englishmen. America was a new country, and at the beginning of the German "golden age" she was waging a war for independence. Then there followed a brief period of peace until 1812, but all the while Europe was seething with war. During the period which followed the Revolution, America prospered and became more concerned with education and literature. And it is, therefore, not entirely an accident that two Americans were delayed in England by the

¹ Henderson, A Short History of Germany, vol. 2, chap. 6, p. 219.

sudden return of Napoleon from Elba when they were on their way to Germany to study. The moment the war clouds cleared in Europe, Americans went to the old world in search of culture.

For the Englishman's lack of knowledge of Germany at this time, there is a similar reason. In the first place, at the beginning of the great German literary period England's colonial problems were occupying her thought and keeping her military forces busy. Then came the French Revolution threatening the old order, overturning established institutions, and disturbing the minds of thoughtful Englishmen. And lastly, the Revolution was followed by Napoleon, who was a constant challenge to the very existence of the English nation for more than twenty years.

With the downfall of Napoleon and the consequent restoration of peace, Americans began to go to Germany to study. The early American students went to the University at Göttingen, the foremost German university at that time. In the first colony at Göttingen there were George Ticknor, Edward Everett, Joseph Green Cogswell, George Bancroft, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and John Lathrop Motley. Then from 1832, the year that Motley studied at Göttingen, until 1847 there seems to have been a lull in the number of Americans who went there. But with 1847 a new colony was founded, and at least forty-four Americans were registered at Göttingen in the following ten years. After the middle of the century Americans began going more generally to other German

universities, chiefly to the University of Berlin.

Those who composed the first group went to Göttingen to study language chiefly. Motley was the one exception; he went to study law. They were, therefore, principally interested in becoming scholars, and as a whole their later energies were directed into fields which demanded careful research. Here again there is an exception, and this time it is Longfellow. Longfellow had the temperament of a poet, and when the proper circumstances arose he responded to German romanticism. But Ticknor, Everett, Bancroft, and Motley, though each ranked high as a literary man in his period, were scholars primarily. And of the group Everett probably gave the greatest promise as a scholar. His scholarly work, however, was soon cut short by his entry into politics.

Closely akin to the individual work of these men as scholars was another important result. They not only brought German scholarship to the shores of America, but German scholars as well. As a result of their studies abroad many German scholars came to America to teach.

American education particularly was affected by these men having studied in Germany. In the first place, they went to Germany because in neither America nor England could they find the same careful scholarship. They came back to America with a desire to reform American educational methods. Everett's chief interest and best work was done in the elementary school, Bancroft's in the preparatory school,

and Ticknor's in the college. Their efforts, however, were not confined solely to schools. Three of them, Everett, Ticknor, and Cogswell, who is not treated separately in this work because he did not become a literary man, made permanent contributions to American education in library work.

One of the most interesting things in connection with this group of students is their relation to American transcendentalism. Not one of them was closely identified with the movement. Everett did much in the way of preparing the New England mind for German transcendentalism and Bancroft's philosophy sometimes partook of the color of the movement, but there their connection with the movement ends. It is a curious fact that German transcendentalism reached America by roundabout ways. Not more than one or two of the leaders in the movement were ever in Germany.

Though there is much in common pertaining to the German influence in the lives of these men, nevertheless each reacted to German life, thought, and literature in his individual way. It is interesting to note the varied individual reactions. Longfellow, for example, celebrated German nature in poetry; Everett, on the other hand, reported the beauty spots in terms of square miles, and value of natural resources. Longfellow was bored by pictures, but to Motley the art gallery at Dresden was a source of refuge. Again Motley loathed society and Ticknor loved it; Bancroft found German manners disgusting when he first went abroad but came back home with more foreign affectations than all the

others, while Motley ever remained the strong-willed democrat and at the same time the close friend of the arch monarchist--Bismarck.

It was, after all, the peculiar reaction of each of these men that made the greatest contribution to American life, and usually the most characteristic response may be found in their literary works. To these literary works I have given especial attention. In the consideration of three of these men I have been handicapped in my work. In order to determine the full German influence in the works of Longfellow, one would have to be a thorough scholar in German literature. In the case of the other two men the handicap was the lack of adequate sources. Everett's papers have never been published, and no good biography of Motley has as yet been written. I was, therefore, unable to get as much information as I desired. The individual accounts open with that of George Ticknor. I chose Ticknor rather than Everett because the information about Ticknor was more complete, and because I could supply a number of gaps in Everett's record from Ticknor's biography since the two made their first trip to Germany together.

George Ticknor, 1791-1871

On page twenty-five of the Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor, George S. Hillard, in speaking of Ticknor's abandonment of law, says that, "He [Ticknor] saw that the country would never be without good lawyers . . . and that it was in urgent need of scholars, teachers, and men of letters, and that this want was much less likely to be supplied." This statement ascribes to Ticknor an exceptional foresight as well as insight; and prophetically true as the statement would have been during the second decade of the nineteenth century, it probably attributes to the intellect of George Ticknor what Hillard saw fifty years later as he looked back at the Clays, Calhouns, and Websters in the profession of law, and at that one internationally recognized scholar in the field of letters--George Ticknor. Nevertheless, Ticknor did, even though motivated by no high-minded needs of his country, close his law office door after one successful year during which time he had "paid the expenses of the office, such as rent, boy, etc."¹ from the proceeds of his practice, with the solemn resolution of making himself a scholar. Ticknor had not made the decision hurriedly; and fortunately he was in a position where he was neither forced to follow an uncongenial profession for a livelihood nor to deny his studious inclinations from lack

¹Life, Letters and Journals of George Ticknor, vol. 1, chap. 1, p. 11. (This work hereafter referred to as "Ticknor.")

of funds. Of his brief law career he had this to say, "I tired of the life, and my father understood it; for I was very frank with him, and told him--what he well knew--that I was more occupied with Greek and Latin than with law books."²

In 1814, shortly after abandoning the law, Ticknor wrote to a young lawyer friend in which he further elaborated upon his decision for giving up law:

I began, long ago, a course of studies which I well knew that I could not finish on this side the Atlantic; and if I do not mean to relinquish my favorite pursuits, and acknowledge that I have trifled away some of the best years of my life, I must spend some time in Italy, France, and Germany, and in Greece, if I can.³

Ticknor proposed, then, as this letter indicates, to travel and study; and inasmuch as he went abroad to pursue those studies in which he had already made some progress at home, it is necessary to give some attention to his early training.

Ticknor did not get his elementary and secondary training in the regular way. His father, who was a retired schoolmaster, prepared him for college. Ticknor tells us that at the age of ten he was examined and given a certificate of admission to Dartmouth by President Wheelock, who was often in his father's home. But of this incident he modestly adds: "Of course, I knew very little, and the whole

²Ticknor, vol. 1, chap. 1, p. 11.

³Ibid, vol. 1, chap. 2, p. 24.

thing was a form, perhaps a farce. I only remember that he examined me in Cicero's Orations and the Greek Testament."⁴ When Ticknor did go to Dartmouth at the age of fourteen he was admitted as a junior, having had some instruction from private tutors as well as from his father.

In college, by his own statement, Ticknor admits that he was idle, learned little; but had a happy life. "The instructors generally were not as good teachers as my father had been, and I knew it, so I took no great interest in study,"⁵ he says. After his graduation in 1807 Ticknor began the study of the classics with the Reverend John Sylvester John Gardiner, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, who had studied with Dr. Parr in England, and who, it seems, was the only scholarly teacher Ticknor had had until this time with the exception of his father. He studied with the Reverend Mr. Gardiner for three years and describes his work thus:

I prepared at home what he prescribed, and the rest of the time occupied myself according to my tastes. I read with him parts of Livy, the Annals of Tacitus, the whole of Juvenal and Persius, the Satires of Horace, and portions of other Latin classics which I do not remember. I wrote Latin prose and verse. In Greek, I read some of the books of the Odyssey, I don't remember how many; the Prometheus Vincetus of Aeschylus; portions of Herodotus, and parts of Thucydides.⁶

⁴Ticknor, vol. 1, chap. 1, p. 6.

⁵Ibid., vol. 1, chap. 1, p. 7.

⁶Ibid., vol. 1, chap. 1, p. 8.

In 1810 Ticknor began to read law and was admitted to the bar in 1813. He practiced for one year, but during the time that he was engaged in reading and in practicing law he continued his study of the classics. Some time during the year of practice he got an inkling that the best place to study in Europe was at the University in Göttingen, Germany; and Ticknor's importance as a pioneer in introducing the study of German and the German educational methods at Harvard can only be appreciated in the light of his efforts to learn something of the most famous University in Germany and something of the German language at that time. His first intimation of the interest in Göttingen came through a work on Germany by Mme. de Staël; his second through a pamphlet by Villers published to defend the University against the ill intentions of Jerome Bonaparte; and his third through a friend who had heard an Englishman give an account of the school; and beyond that he said, "It was in vain that I endeavored to get farther knowledge upon the subject."⁷ His efforts toward learning something of the German language show even more the woeful lack of knowledge of things German. At Jamaica Plains he found a Dr. Brosius, a native of Strassburg, who taught mathematics, and who "was willing to do what he could for me in German, but he warned me his pronunciation was very bad, as was all of that of Alsace."⁸ From his friend Edward Everett he borrowed a

⁷Ticknor, vol. 1, chap. 1, p. 11.

⁸Ibid, vol. 1, chap. 1, p. 11.

French and German grammar; from New Hampshire he obtained a German dictionary; and from among the books of John Quincy Adams, who was then in Europe, he obtained a copy of Goethe's "Werther" "through Mr. William S. Shaw's connivance."⁹ In his study of "Werther" Ticknor got as far as to write a translation.

Ticknor did not go to Germany immediately after abandoning his law practice. In the winter of 1814-15 he traveled in the United States for the purpose of "reading those books and conversing with those persons, from whom I can learn in what particular parts of the country I mean to visit I can most easily compass my objects."¹⁰ And with the accounts of this journey that long procession of notables in every walk of life begins to pass in review,--so numerous are the names that adorn the pages of his biography, that one reviewer said, "He went nowhere without making the acquaintance of the most remarkable men of each country that he visited."¹¹ But so far as this journey was concerned, he learned little of Germany.

Ticknor sailed for Liverpool on April 16, 1815, and among his fellow-passengers was another whose destination was Göttingen, Edward Everett. Before he left the boat at Liverpool he heard the pilot come aboard and announce that Napoleon had escaped from Elba and had again set himself at the head of the French government. At Liverpool, Ticknor

⁹Ticknor, vol. 1, chap. 1, p. 12.

¹⁰Ibid., vol. 1, chap. 2, p. 23.

¹¹Living Age, vol. 129, p. 505.

met Roscoe, the historian, and on his way to London he stopped at Hatton to visit Dr. Parr, the teacher of his old tutor, Gardiner. In London, where he remained a month, he met among others Lord Byron, with whom he became rather intimate; Sir Humphrey Davies, the scientist; Boswell, the son of Johnson's biographer; and Gifford, the satirist. Leaving London he went by the way of the Netherlands to Göttingen, arriving August 4, 1815.

At Göttingen Ticknor settled down to a life in direct contrast to the one which he had been leading during the preceding months. In Göttingen there was no time for society and amusement. Every hour--almost every minute--was parceled out with the strictest economy. Rising precisely at five in the morning, he devoted two and one-half hours to the study of Greek. Then followed lectures, more study, and so on until ten at night. Yet, for all the hard labor, this was perhaps the happiest time in his life. He had come to Göttingen in search of scholarship; what he found far exceeded his expectations. Göttingen at that time was the site of the leading university in Germany. Among the distinguished scholars and teachers with whom he studied were Dissen, Benecke, Schultze, Eichhorn--and two of world wide fame--Gauss in mathematics, and Blumenbach in natural history. With the latter he formed a close attachment, and attended his lectures, although not specifically interested in his field of study.

Ticknor was no ordinary student; he had a special

aptitude for languages. Just two months after arriving in Göttingen he wrote his father of his progress in German:

On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, at the striking of eight o'clock, I am at Professor Benecke's for my lesson in German. This has become a light study. I read with him only some of the most difficult parts of their poets, and carry to him the passages I do not understand in books I read for other purposes.¹²

Five days later he had this to say of his favorite subject, Greek.

I learn the language entirely through the German. My lexicon, grammar, etc., are German, and from this language I mean hereafter to acquire my Greek, since the means in it are vastly better than our language will afford, or even Latin. At first we had some difficulty in fixing upon a common medium of translating. I did not like to render it into broken German, and I would not disgrace the language of Pericles and Demosthenes by rendering it into French. Latin, of course, was all that remained; and, after discarding my Latin and Greek lexicons, and renouncing forever the miserable assistance of Latin versions, I undertook to render into it, with some misgivings. I had never done it, and I had never spoken a word of Latin; but the moment I began the difficulty vanished. I found that I could translate thus nearly as fast as into my mother tongue; in short, I found that I knew a great deal more Latin than I suspected.¹³

During the twenty months residence at Göttingen Ticknor and Everett made two tours in Germany. The first was a five day visit to Hanover. There Ticknor made the acquaintance of Feder, who had been a professor at Göttingen for twenty-nine years; Count Munster, Minister of State, in whose eight thousand volume library he found much of inter-

¹²Ticknor, vol. 1, chap. 4, p. 79.

¹³Ibid, vol. 1, chap. 4, p. 81.

est; Professor Martens, author of a work on the Laws of Nations; and Mad. Kestner, the original of Goethe's "Charlotte." The second tour was from September 13 to November 5, 1816. At this time he visited all the principal cities such as Leipsic, Dresden, Berlin, Wittenberg, Halle, Weimar, Jena, and Gotha. All the principal universities and schools were visited in every town through which he passed, and minute studies were made of each. He made, as was his custom, the acquaintance of the eminent Germans at each place, and among others whom he met was Germany's most famous man of letters, Goethe.

Ticknor left Göttingen in March, 1817. The period of most intensive study was now at an end, and the remaining time which he spent in Europe was divided in three ways--in study, in travel, and in meeting and making the acquaintance of notable men and women wherever he happened to be. He was forced to change his plans for travel somewhat by his acceptance of the chair of modern languages at Harvard. The proposal that he become the first Smith Professor of the French and Spanish Languages and Literatures and the Colloge Professor of Belles-Lettres at Harvard had come to him at Göttingen, but acceptance was delayed until he had reached Rome the following November. In the meantime the summer had been spent in France. In Paris the two individuals who impressed him most were both Germans, A. W. Schlegel, and Alexander von Humboldt. Schlegel, like his brother Frederick, whom Ticknor had earlier met at Frankfurt, was a historian.

Ticknor did not take kindly to the French, and despite the fact that he was well received by them in most cases, he formed no warm attachments. In his journal for September 2 is this entry: "This morning I left Paris, and I have not left any city with so little regret."¹⁴ His feeling toward his departure from Paris was in direct contrast to the feeling he experienced on leaving Göttingen. Of this he wrote, "From many I did not separate without a feeling of deep and bitter regret, which I never thought to have suffered on leaving Göttingen."¹⁵

Following the departure from Paris there was an extended trip through Switzerland and Italy. Taking up his residence in Rome in November, he made this city his headquarters until the last of March, 1818, and there he devoted much of his time to the study of Italian "and the ancient and modern treasures of that wonderful city."¹⁶ He was much in the society of the day; and by way of showing his tolerance in matters pertaining to religion, sought and was granted an audience with the Pope, and "attended a celebration of the three-hundredth anniversary of Luther's burning the Papal bull, got up right under the nose of the Pope."¹⁷ The celebration was put on by a number of Germans residing in Rome at that time, Niebur, Bunsen, Brandes, and Mad. de Humboldt, whom he "was very much among."¹⁸

¹⁴Ticknor, vol. 1, chap. 7, p. 151.

¹⁵Ibid., vol. 1, chap. 6, p. 121.

¹⁶Ibid., vol. 1, chap. 8, p. 171.

¹⁷Ibid., vol. 1, chap. 8, p. 178.

¹⁸Ibid., vol. 1, chap. 8, p. 178.

In accepting the professorship of modern languages at Harvard, Ticknor was forced to give up his plans for traveling in Greece and went to Spain instead. Spanish was one of the languages which he would teach in his new position, and to prepare himself in this subject, he went to Spain in May, 1818. There he remained until November of the same year, devoting his time to a study of the language, literature, and educational systems of the country, and to observing the arts and ways of the Spanish people. Having completed his work in Spain, he took leave of that country and again spent a short time in France, and made an extended tour of Great Britain before sailing for home. He reached his father's home on the sixth of June, 1819, after an absence of a little more than four years.

George Ticknor went abroad for the second time in 1835. He had looked forward to a vacation in Europe for several years, and the immediate cause of the trip being made at this time was Mrs. Ticknor's health. For fifteen years he had labored faithfully at Harvard and often under discouraging circumstances. He had, however, succeeded so well in his own teaching that he was permitted to put into effect his own educational theories in the modern language department, but otherwise he made little progress toward revising the Harvard system. Having accomplished as much as seemed possible in the way of educational reforms at Harvard, and being financially independent, he decided to give up the struggle with the administration and spend a few years in

Europe.

Ticknor, accompanied by his family, set sail from the United States in June, 1835; and the first few months of the extended European sojourn were spent in Great Britain--in England, Wales and Ireland. In November the family went to Dresden, where the Ticknors resided, with the exception of a few weeks which were spent in Berlin, until the next June. The months at Dresden are of importance in two respects: Ticknor found there ample opportunity to gratify both his love of society and his love of scholarship.

Dresden was the capital of Saxony, and Ticknor was there during the entire social season. He often went to court and became intimate with many members of the royal society, particularly so with some members of the King's immediate family. By nature he was socially inclined. He desired always to associate with those in the highest social class, and was equally desired always by those in the highest society. His Journal for December 26, 1835, has this entry, "I was presented to the King today . . . and all the forms usual on such occasions anywhere were fully observed."¹⁹ Ten days later he wrote, "I dined with the King at a regular court dinner in full dress. The ceremonious part of it was like all other court ceremonies."²⁰ The fact was, of course, that he had been so long in society that the novelty had long ago worn off, if, indeed, court life had ever had any novelty for him. But even social formalities

¹⁹Ticknor, vol. 1, chap. 23, p. 461.

²⁰Ibid., vol. 1, chap. 23, p. 464.

were not long maintained by those in the society in which Ticknor moved. Another week had barely passed when he wrote this in his Journal after a call on Prince John, "and, when I came away, he invited me to come and see him any day in the forenoon, without the ceremony of announcing myself through his grand-maitre."²¹

But remarkable as Ticknor's abilities to enter into the society of the court were, equally impressive was the recognition of his scholarship by those who stood in the highest literary circles. He did, in fact, become one of those who composed what might be called the court of higher criticism in Dresden. Prince John at that time was translating the "The Divine Comedy" of Dante; and the Prince and a small group of scholars often met in an informal way during the years he worked on the translation for the purpose of criticising his work. During the winter Ticknor met with this group, which included, in addition to the Prince, Tieck, the recognized head of German literature since the death of Goethe; Forster, the translator of Petrarch; and Carus, the King's physician. This is how Ticknor describes one of the meetings:

After coffee and a little conversation, we all sat down at a table, and Tieck read, most admirably, five cantos, beginning with the eighteenth. The rest of us looked over the original text, and at the end of each canto observations were made on the translations. There was not, however, one word of compliment offered, or the smallest flattery in-

²¹Ticknor, vol. 1, chap. 23, p. 469.

sinuated. On the contrary, errors were pointed out fairly and honestly; and once or twice, where there was a difference of opinion between the Prince and Carus, Carus adhered, even with pertinacity, to his own, which, in one case, I thought was wrong.²²

These meetings were the means of establishing a warm friendship among these men, and Ticknor always looked back on the meetings with pleasure. After returning to the United States he corresponded with Tieck and Prince John, and the correspondence with the latter was continued until Ticknor's death. Age seemed to make the bond more firm between the Prince and Ticknor. Over thirty years later the translator, who was then His Majesty John, King of Saxony, presented Ticknor with a beautiful volume of his version, and Ticknor was shortly to repay in kind by sending the King a copy of Longfellow's version of "The Divine Comedy."

There was still another literary contact which made this winter one of the most pleasant in Ticknor's life. He was often in the company of Tieck, who had a good library and one that contained an unusual selection of Spanish books in which Ticknor was particularly interested. But above all this in interest were those little meetings at Tieck's where Tieck read to his guests. Tieck was an accomplished reader as well as a poet. He often read Shakespeare to a small group of friends, and on one occasion Ticknor had the good

²²Ticknor, vol. 1, chap. 24, p. 475.

fortune to suggest "A Midsummer's Night's Dream" for the evening's entertainment--the play which happened to be Tieck's favorite. Of one of these occasions Ticknor said this:

In the evening I went to Tieck's . . . and heard him read the whole of the first part of "Henry IV," in Schlegel's admirable translation. He has universally the reputation of being the best reader in Germany, and certainly I am not at all disposed to gainsay his fame. His reading was admirable in all respects; sometimes very curious and striking to me, because his tones and manners, now and then, gave a small shade of difference to the interpretation of a passage from what I had been accustomed to give it, or hear given to it on the stage.²³

Ticknor, himself, as this statement implies was in the habit of reading Shakespeare's plays in a similar way to parties of friends in his own home.

During the latter part of May, 1836, Ticknor was in Berlin. There he saw a great review and a sham fight in which twenty thousand men engaged. He met a number of German men of letters, among whom were the two great German historians, Savigny and Humboldt. Humboldt, he had met before--on his first visit to Germany. After visiting the art galleries and other places of interest, he returned to Dresden where he attended a party in honor of Tieck's birthday, before leaving for Austria.

Strictly speaking Ticknor did not leave Germany when he went from Dresden to Vienna, for Austria was at that

²³Ticknor, vol. 1, chap. 24, p. 473.

time one of the German states. Prussia had not yet gained the ascendancy over the other German states and brought about the unification which excluded Austria. Austria was at this time far from being impotent in European affairs, and was, in fact, the home of the most dominant figure in Europe, Metternich; and the detailed record which Ticknor left of his interview with this man has been of particular interest to those who have been interested in the character of Metternich. It was the privilege of Ticknor to meet not only a large number of the most influential men during his life, but a particular number in whom the world has always been interested; and the accounts he has left of his meetings with Lord Byron, Talleyrand, and Metternich, have been read with considerable interest.

After a month in Vienna Ticknor proceeded through Switzerland to Italy. There he remained for almost a year--until June, 1837. He again entered Germany on his way to Paris, and spent some time at Innsbruck, Munich, and Heidelberg. He arrived at Paris on September 11, and his activities in that city were a repetition of those that have been described. He met the most distinguished literary men, was presented at court, and moved in exclusive Parisian society. Leaving Paris in March, he went to England, where he spent the spring months. On the tenth of June he sailed for home, having been in Europe approximately three years.

There is an element of pathos in Ticknor's third visit to Europe in 1856 and 1857, but no other event in his

life illustrates his heroic energy and his wise idealism more than does this journey, which was made in the interest of the Boston Public Library. Ticknor was sixty-five at the time, and paradoxical as it may seem when one thinks of his love for society, he had always been a home loving man primarily. Nevertheless, despite this love of home and his comfortable circumstances, he sacrificed his own pleasure for what time has proved to be a benefit to others. During the time that Ticknor had been on the faculty at Harvard he had made an attempt to combine the various libraries in Boston into one large library, but in this attempt he had failed. But after the second return from Europe, he found that the need for a public library in Boston was more generally recognized. Consequently, he and a few other influential men set about to establish the library. Chief among those associated with him was Edward Everett. The work of drawing up a plan for the library was delegated to Everett and Ticknor. Ticknor outlined the principles on which the library was to be founded, and although Everett thought Ticknor's plan impracticable, Ticknor prevailed over his objections, and Everett from that time forward ever remained loyal to Ticknor in this work, notwithstanding the fact that he always questioned the wisdom of the policies determined upon for the library. The fact was, of course, that Ticknor was ahead of his time in this case as he was in his relations with Harvard, but there was a difference in the two situations. Harvard could get along without Ticknor, but the li-

brary group felt that it could not dispense with his services, and Ticknor would not remain a part of the organization unless the proposed library should be one in which books might be checked out of the building without cost for home reading. Getting his own way over what the others connected with the organization thought to be their better judgment, Ticknor felt it incumbent upon himself to carry his plans to a successful conclusion. The result was that he was the moving spirit in the library for fourteen years, and was abroad for fifteen months at his own expense for the purpose of buying books and establishing agencies.

Ticknor went abroad in the summer of 1856 and was absent from the United States for about fifteen months. He went first to London, where he conferred with Mr. Bates, whose large gifts of money were making the rapid development of the library possible. There the two decided that Ticknor should purchase the books in northern Europe and in Italy; and consequently, Ticknor proceeded to Germany. His acquaintance with the eminent men in Europe made his services invaluable to the project which he was furthering. At Berlin he conferred with Dr. Penz, head of the Berlin Library, whom he had known since his school days at Gottingen. From Austria he wrote this: "I went around with Dr. Senoner, librarian with the principal scientific library in the city, and I had help from Count Thun, Minister of State, who has charge of the public libraries throughout the Empire, and Baron Bellinghausen and Dr. F. Wolf, the principal persons in the Im-

perial Library,"²⁴ and then follows a significant remark, "all these are old friends and correspondents."²⁵

When not engaged in the actual work for which he had gone to Europe, Ticknor spent his time in much the same way as he had done on previous visits. He, however, found many of his old acquaintances gone. From Bonn he wrote that "Niebuhr, and Schlegel, and the rest are all gone."²⁶ He was more fortunate at Dresden in this respect although Tieck was dead. There he remained for six weeks and resumed his former informal relations with the King, who desired "him to come to Pillnitz to see him without other form than at a private house."²⁷ In Berlin he again met Humboldt, now eighty-seven, and at Potsdam he attended a court dinner and met the reigning monarch of Prussia, King Frederick William IV who "talked with me more than half the time; was truly agreeable, and sometimes scholar-like, urged me very much to stay to the fetes of the marriage next week, and took leave of me with a hearty shake of the hand, and a heartier, 'God bless you; come again to Sans Souci.'"²⁸

After leaving Germany Ticknor spent a few weeks in Austria before going to Italy for the winter. In Italy he remained until the next June, establishing agencies and buying books. Having completed his work there he went to

²⁴Ticknor, vol. 2, chap. 15, p. 314.

²⁵Ibid., vol. 2, chap. 15, p. 314.

²⁶Ibid., vol. 2, chap. 16, p. 326.

²⁷Ibid., vol. 2, chap. 16, p. 330.

²⁸Ibid., vol. 2, chap. 16, p. 331.

Paris for a month before returning to England. He was in England two months, and on August 29, 1857, he sailed for home.

In July, 1876, the North American Review said in a book review of the Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor, that the public services of Ticknor were three, Professor of modern languages at Harvard, author of the History of Spanish Literature, and trustee of the Boston Public Library.²⁹ Yet before the reviewer finished his article he came close to adding a fourth service. In speaking of the Life he said, "We know of no American book so thick-set with names and sketches of distinguished and interesting people."³⁰ This statement is a bit more conservative than that in The Nation which had a similar review and which unquestionably lists a fourth service. The Nation said, "There is nowhere in literature such a picture of the society of Europe in the years immediately after the fall of Napoleon as is given to us in Mr. Ticknor's narrative."³¹ In such a manner as this was the publication of the Life received on both sides of the Atlantic, and such has the estimation continued among critics down to the present time. Though little read now, comparatively, the merits of the work are still recognized in the face of changed reading interests.

²⁹North American Review, vol. 123, p. 210.

³⁰Ibid., vol. 123, p. 215.

³¹The Nation, vol. 22, p. 148.

For a man to have done eminent work as a professor of modern language; as a writer whose chief claims to distinction lie in his letters and journals and a history of Spanish literature; and in his trusteeship of a public library,--would on the surface indicate but slightly that his life's work was influenced by anything German. But beneath the surface, nevertheless, there was a German influence which determined in a large measure the quality, if not the type, of the particular work which Ticknor did. When Ticknor went to Göttingen the first time for a period of study which lasted twenty months, he entered a world there so unlike the one to which he had been accustomed, that the influences of those few months can be specifically traced in all of his public services. The letters to his home folks and to his American friends at that time show all the youthful enthusiasm which comes from an awakened intellect, and this enthusiasm was in later years translated into calm and steady activity.

Ticknor's first reaction to Germany was charged with considerable emotion. The total lack of knowledge of Germany in the United States at that time has been illustrated by Ticknor's attempts to learn something of Germany before he left home. Therefore, becoming obsessed with an enthusiasm for German literature at the very start, he first played the rôle of defender, and the attitude which he took is well illustrated by a letter to Edward T. Channing, dated November 16, 1816. After having reprimanded critics of Germany

who had displayed more virulence than knowledge, Ticknor makes this statement:

After all, however, you will come around upon me with the old question, 'And what are you Germans after all?' They are a people who, in forty years, have created to themselves a literature such as no other nation ever created in two centuries; and they are a people who, at this moment have more mental activity than any other existing.³²

And then after a few more remarks in the same general tone he brings the letter to a close with, "So much for Germany-- a subject upon which I will thank you not to set me going again."³³ These extracts from the letter well illustrate Ticknor's reaction to Germany. At this time he wrote many letters to his father and to the Channings in which he attempted to explain the German educational systems, and German metaphysics. Most of the letters were careful calm discourses set down in great detail. Ticknor's writings were always voluminous and the extracts from the letters which appear in his biography often exceed two thousand words. Ticknor did not, however, appear to have caught from the Germans the "Short History" habit--that of calling a history short which runs into thousands of pages. His early correspondence indicates that he always possessed the trait of writing at great length and the detailed reports which he was in the habit of setting in his Journal is well illustrat-

³²Ticknor, vol. 1, chap. 5, p. 120.

³³Ibid., vol. 1, chap. 5, p. 120.

ed by the fact that his Journal for the second European trip contained seventeen hundred quarto pages.

The German influence as manifested in Ticknor's works came largely from the first visit to Germany. It is in the school-day period at Göttingen that the genesis of his public services can be found. The later trips to Germany can be said to have strengthened the earlier tendencies set in motion by the first trip. But perhaps the most that can be said for the later visits is that by coming in contact with eminent Germans, he was able to leave a first hand record of certain phases of German society and German scholarship in his letters and journals.

When Ticknor was at Harvard he attempted to put into effect certain educational reforms, and while it never has been conclusively ascertained just where Ticknor derived his educational ideas, it is easily enough to trace his dissatisfaction of American educational methods to Göttingen. In passing it may be remarked that Ticknor was the originator of the university idea in American higher education. He attempted to organize Harvard on a departmental basis, to introduce the elective system, and to group the students into classes according to proficiency and scholarship. This plan was for the purpose of promoting scholarship and a few extracts from his letters from Göttingen will show that there he became conscious of the inadequacy of the instruction in American colleges. Here is one of the first to his father:

A month's experience determined me to remain until the spring, and now I am ready to tell you that I do not think I shall ever again find its equal. Even while I was struggling with the language, and of course was cut off from half the means and opportunities the University could afford,--even then the conviction was continually pressing upon me of the superiority of their instruction and mode of teaching.³⁴

Ticknor not only remained until spring but until the spring following. In Göttingen he came to realize the difference between reciting to an instructor and being taught by one. He was probably influenced most by his Greek tutor, Dr. Schultze. And in this letter appears a more direct expression of the realization of the disparity between American and German scholarship. Referring to Dr. Schultze, he wrote:

Every day I am filled with new astonishment at the variety and accuracy, the minuteness and the readiness, of his learning. Every day I feel anew, under the oppressive weight of his admirable acquirements, what a mortifying distance there is between an European and an American scholar! We do not yet know what a Greek scholar is; we do not even know the process by which a man is to be made one.³⁵

Ticknor also felt the lack of a good library at Harvard. In a letter from Göttingen to an official of Harvard College he has this to say of the two schools:

I cannot, however, shut my eyes to the fact, that one very important and principal causes of the difference between our University and the one here is the different value we affix to a good library, and the different ideas we have of what a good library is. . . . I cannot better explain to you the difference between our University in Cambridge than the one here than by telling you that here I hardly say too

³⁴Ticknor, vol. 1, chap. 4, p. 79.

³⁵Ibid., vol. 1, chap. 4, p. 73.

much when I say that it consists in the Library, and that in Cambridge the Library is one of the last things thought and talked about.³⁶

At another time Ticknor once said of the different impressions made by the library at Harvard before and after his return, "When I went away I thought it was a large library; when I came back, it seemed a closet full of books."³⁷

Ticknor did not succeed in his efforts to reform Harvard, nor did he found any school of research; he was too far in advance of his age. He did, however, put his theories into operation in his own department, and when he resigned he practically named Longfellow as his successor. Longfellow continued the department on the same general principles, but in time the organization of Ticknor disappeared, though only temporarily, as evidenced by its existence in every college and university in America today.

The important writings of Ticknor are largely found in three works, the Life, Letters and Journals of George Ticknor, Life of Prescott, and The History of Spanish Literature. And the last is the fruit of that scholarship which made him the first internationally recognized American scholar. This history particularly shows the influence of Ticknor's schooling in Germany. Of the Göttingen influence on Ticknor in this respect Stanton says: "And it was in those bare halls of the old Georgia Augusta, at the feet of Heeren, and Eichhorn, and Dissen, and Blumenbach, that other

³⁶Higginson, Carlyle's Laugh and Other Surprises, chap. 22, p. 329-330.

³⁷Ticknor, vol. 1, chap. 4, p. 72.

grateful New Englanders--among them George Bancroft and Edward Everett in Ticknor's time, and Longfellow and Motley at a later day--learned something of the spirit of continental scholarship. In this spirit the New England school of historians attempted, on the whole, to work."³⁸

Ticknor began work on The History of Spanish Literature after his second return from Europe. He spent ten years on the work, and after the publication of the first edition in 1849 he revised subsequent editions in the light of his later findings. The history has always been recognized as the most authoritative work on Spanish literature done by an author who was not a native Spaniard. It was translated into French, German, and Spanish, and had a satisfactory sale for a work of its particular type. The scholarship which manifested itself in the work was universally recognized, and one English reviewer declared that there were not six men in Europe competent to review the work.

Ticknor set about writing the history in a methodical and systematic fashion typical of a German scholar, and for the work he collected the finest library of Spanish books owned by any single individual in the world. "Ticknor's German training," says Samuel Lee Wolff, "had taught him what much of the British scholarship of his time sorely needed to learn--the need of the broadest possible basis in facts."³⁹ But according to Wolff here the German influence

³⁸Stanton, A Manual of American Literature, p. 97.

³⁹Cambridge History of American Literature, vol. 4, chap. 25, p. 458.

ends for in the next statement he says, "From that point onward, however, his scholarship remains essentially British in its distrust of ideas. The History is much more like Warton's History of English Poetry and Hallam's Middle Ages than it is like anything German."

E. P. Whipple in his criticism of the History also points out the fact that Ticknor failed to grasp the whole spirit of the German historians whom he knew intimately. Whipple says:

The History of Spanish Literature would have been a most fascinating, if not a more learned work, had Ticknor caught from Schlegel the fundamental point of view from which the literature of a nation should be surveyed. We have in these volumes [Life, Letters and Journals of George Ticknor] abundant testimonies to Schlegel's knowledge and brilliancy in conversation, but not a word as to those principles of criticism for which he is now remembered among men.⁴⁰

Ticknor never ceased to reverence German scholarship; and there is abundant testimony in his biography that it always fascinated him. That this scholarship influenced him to take painstaking care in The History of Spanish Literature is unquestionable. In his efforts as a teacher at Harvard, in his own compositions, and in his labors for the Boston Public Library, there is ample evidence that he was attempting to transplant the same type of scholarship to his own country. Lover of society as Ticknor was, he was equal-

⁴⁰ Whipple, Recollections of Eminent Men, p. 254.

ly happy in the company of a scholar who was the very antithesis of those who moved in brilliant society. This is what he wrote of one such scholar whom he met on his second trip to Germany:

In the afternoon I made some visits, but found nobody . . . except Neander, the Church historian, a perfect type of such German students as I used to see often when I was here before, but of whom this is the first specimen I have seen this time; living up three or four pair of stairs, buried in books, so near-sighted that he can see little more than an inch beyond his nose, and so ignorant of the world that the circle of his practical knowledge is not much wider than that of his vision; dirty in his person, in the midst of his confusion; but learned withal, earnest, kind, and I thought him conscientious. I should be glad to see more of him, and wish that we had many such at home.⁴¹

Ticknor's library work was in a similar manner stimulated by his German visits. It has already been pointed out that he recognized one of the essential differences between the University at Göttingen and the University at Cambridge lay in their respective libraries. It had also been noted that before he went to Germany the second time he attempted to combine the different libraries in Boston into a single institution. When the opportune time did come for the establishment of the Boston Public Library, it was largely due to his own personal experience in Germany which made him contend for free circulation of books. His biographer says that, "During Mr. Ticknor's second visit to Europe, in 1835-38, he felt more than ever the inestimable resources furnished by the great libraries to men of intellectual pursuits like himself, especially in Dresden, where he had often

⁴¹Ticknor, vol. 1, chap. 25, p. 493.

twenty or thirty volumes from the Royal Library at his hotel."⁴² But Ticknor was not content to establish a library for the scholar alone. He wanted and founded a library for the scholar and general reader alike. For the scholar he bequeathed to the Boston Public Library his own rare collection of Spanish books--10,000 in all; and for the general reader he not only purchased what in his judgment the general reader desired, but he also inaugurated a system by which the patrons of the library might indicate the books that they desired to be purchased.

Here ends the account of the German influence on George Ticknor and so far as his accomplishments as an author are concerned, he has left comparatively little in quantity and still less that is now of general interest. But whatever the accomplishments and abiding merits of Ticknor's efforts may be as an author, his influence in the field of letters has been far greater than his influence as a writer. And the influence of Ticknor on those who followed him has been one reason for the attention here given to his teaching and library work. This secondary German influence, if it may be so termed, was far more fruitful in the field of American literature than was the original influence on Ticknor. Of the influence of those in the original Göttingen group of students, Thomas Wentworth Higginson has this to say:

⁴²Ticknor, vol. 2, chap. 15, p. 299.

But while the immediate results of personal service to the college on the part of this group of remarkable men may have been inadequate . . . yet their collective influence on Harvard University and American education was enormous. They helped to break up that intellectual sterility which had begun to show itself during the isolation of a merely colonial life; they prepared the way for the vast growth of modern colleges, schools, and libraries in the country, and indirectly helped the birth of a literature which gave us Irving, Cooper, Bryant, and the 'North American Review'; and culminated later in the brilliant Boston circle of authors, almost all of whom were Harvard men, and all of whom had felt the Harvard influence.⁴³

Higginson is here speaking of Ticknor, Everett, Cogswell, and Bancroft; and when he speaks of the inadequacy of personal service to Harvard he has in mind that as a group their period of service to Harvard was short. Ticknor served Harvard as an instructor for fifteen years--twice as long as the other three combined.

Ticknor shared the responsibility for Bancroft's going to Germany to study, and he was directly responsible for Longfellow's second trip to Germany; and while no one can say with assurance what Longfellow would or would not have been had he not gone to Germany, the fact still remains that Longfellow was not a poet when he went away and when he came back he was one. In fact so enormous was the influence of Ticknor that William Cranston Lawton declared that: "Ticknor's name must be written, perhaps larger than any other, among the creators of a wide and deep literary culture, who are surely in the long run, among the godfathers of later literature as well."⁴⁴

⁴³Higginson, Carlyle's Laugh and Other Surprises, chap. 22, p. 348.

⁴⁴The Dial, vol. 32, p. 307.

Edward Everett, 1794-1865

The many erroneous statements about Edward Everett's period in Germany may bear some relationship to the part which he played in bringing German scholarship to the United States. Everett has been variously written of as the first on this side of the Atlantic to have received a Doctor of Philosophy degree in Germany, the first native American to have studied in Germany, the first to have brought German scholarship to America; in fact, the first this and the first that in almost everything pertaining to his schooling at Göttingen, except what he was possibly first in: namely, the first to make Americans conscious of German scholarship. At least one other from America had preceded him to Göttingen and had been granted a degree at that institution; and as to his being the first native born American to study at that institution, George Ticknor and he went to Germany together and began their studies there at the same time. Everett, however, did remain a few months longer than Ticknor and was granted a degree, but on the other hand Ticknor had already entered upon his duties at Harvard before Everett returned to America.

Everett's papers are in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and few of them have been published. It is, therefore, exceedingly difficult to determine closely the German influence in his work, but that such an influence existed is unquestionable. Those of his contemporaries who knew him best and who have left us a

written record testify to the major part which he played in acquainting America with German thought, scholarship, and literature.

Everett sailed from the United States for Liverpool on April 16, 1815. He had recently been elected Eliot Professor of Greek at Harvard, but before entering upon his duties he had been granted a leave of absence for two years. The leave of absence was not granted for study abroad primarily, but for travel. The administrators of Harvard evidently believed that Everett was sufficiently qualified from an academic standpoint to enter upon his duties. He had already won for himself a brilliant reputation for a young man. He graduated from Harvard in 1811 with the highest honors, in a class of more than average ability. During his undergraduate days he made a reputation as a writer and a scholar which long remained a tradition at Harvard. Following his graduation he became a tutor and pursued studies in divinity for two years, and in 1813 he delivered a poem before the Phi Beta Kappa Society on American poets which attracted considerable attention. In 1813 Everett became pastor of the Brattle Street Church in Boston, one of the leading churches of the city. As pastor of this church he was much admired for his discourses and eloquence, and in the second year of his pastorate he further increased his reputation as a scholar by publishing a Defense of Christianity, in reply to a work of George Bethune English entitled Grounds of Christianity Examined by Comparing the New Testament With the

Old. But Everett's health was poor, and with this fact in mind, the administrators at Harvard had granted the leave of absence, thinking that his health might be improved by travel.

Everett arrived at Liverpool about May 12, 1815, and proceeded to London, where he spent a few weeks and became acquainted with a number of literary men, among whom was Byron. From London he went to Holland, where he passed a few days at Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Leyden, and other Dutch cities. Accompanied by Ticknor he went to Göttingen, passing through Utrecht, Arnheim, Munster, Paderborn, and Cassel, arriving at Göttingen on August 4, 1815.

At Göttingen Everett settled down to from fourteen to sixteen hours of hard study each day. He and Ticknor saw little of each other except for occasional meetings for fencing, their usual means of recreation. Like Ticknor he first devoted himself to the study of German for a few weeks before entering fully into the other studies, but unlike Ticknor he had considerable knowledge of German before going to Göttingen. Of his studies Everett had this to say:

I devoted myself chiefly to Greek, under the private instruction of Professor Dissen, the editor of Pindar, who died in middle life in 1837. With him I read portions of the higher Greek authors, and went through a course in Greek metres and Greek Grammar. Though I became familiar with the German before I left the country, our exercises together were conducted in the Latin language. I also attended the lecture of Hugo, on the History of Roman Law, and those of Welcker on Archaeology.¹

¹American Journal of Education, vol. 7, p. 331.

In this statement Everett gives but the barest facts in regard to his work at Göttingen. George Bancroft, however, has given us a more animated, and a more real, picture of Everett's work:

Here among the most accomplished in learning and the most famed for industry, he secured the same degree of esteem as at home. He had a miraculous facility in acquiring learning; this is one of the marked features of his intellect, in which I never knew anyone that excelled him. He mastered Greek with an ease that was the admiration of his teachers; Disson, the great enthusiast for Plato and Pindar and the great tragedians, a solitary recluse, learned to bear him affection; and before long he wrote and spoke German so well, that at the request of the venerable Eichhorn, the editor, he contributed a review to the great Göttingen periodical.²

A letter from Joseph Green Cogswell gives further first hand information regarding the impression Everett and Ticknor made at Göttingen. Cogswell went abroad to study at Göttingen in 1816. He was later granted a Doctor of Philosophy degree from the University and upon his return to America was librarian at Harvard from 1821 to 1823. This extract from Cogswell's letter to Stephen Higginson gives a picture of the actual work done by Everett and Ticknor:

I must tell you something of our colony at Göttingen before I discuss other subjects, for you probably care little about the University and its host of professors, except as they operate on us. First to the Professor [Everett] and Dr. Ticknor, as they are called here; everybody knows them in this part of Germany, and also knows how to value them. For once in my life I am proud to acknowledge myself an American on the European side of the Atlantic; never was a country more fortunate in its representation abroad than ours has been in this in-

²Historical Magazine, vol. 9, p. 79.

stance; they will gain more for us in this respect than ever in the treasures in learning they will carry back. Little as I have of patriotism, I delight to listen to the character which is here given of my countrymen; I mean as countrymen, and not as my particular friends: the despondency which it produces in my own mind of ever obtaining a place by their sides is more than counterbalanced by the gratification of my national feelings, to say not a word of my individual attachment. You must not think me extravagant, but I venture to say that the notions which the European literati have entertained of America will be essentially changed by G. and E's [Ticknor's and Everett's] residence on the continent; we were known to be a brave, a rich, and an enterprising people, but that a scholar was to be found among us, or any man who had a desire to be a scholar, had scarcely been conceived. It will also be the means of producing new correspondences between the men of the American and European sides of the Atlantic, and spread much more widely among us a knowledge of the present literature and science of this continent.³

Cogswell's prediction in the last statement of this excerpt proved true. Ticknor carried on a voluminous correspondence with Europeans until the end of his life, and that Everett continued a connection with Germany in his later years is also true. In 1852 he wrote to a friend directing him to send to the University at Göttingen the latest edition of his orations. As editor of the North American Review he wrote reviews of German books, sometimes importing them for the special purpose of giving his readers reviews which they would otherwise not get. In one of the reviews he scored German writers for their ignorance of America--a review which got him into controversy with some of the German

³Higginson, Carlyle's Laugh and Other Surprises, chap. 22, p. 332.

writers.

Everett went on at least four excursions while at Göttingen. The first was made at the end of the first six weeks of study. He and Ticknor made a visit of five days length to Hanover. There he met Feder, Count Munster, Professor Martens, and Mad. Kestner. In September, 1816, he started on a trip of nearly a month's duration, during which time he visited Leipsic, Dresden, Berlin, and Weimar. In the latter city he met Goethe. At another time Everett made a trip to Holland to visit his brother, who represented the United States there at that time in an official capacity, and on the return trip he went by way of the Rhine and stopped at Frankfurt. Still later, just before leaving Göttingen in the fall of 1817, he made a thorough German trip--a journey on foot through the Hartz Mountains. The journal which he kept on this trip was later published in the North American Review, and mighty dry reading it is. This journal would indicate that Everett had little of the poetic about him; it is a catalogue of geographic information--a mere census report.

Everett left Göttingen for Paris after having received the Doctor of Philosophy degree, and after having spent a little more than two years there. He evidently found the University to his liking, for originally he had intended to remain only two years abroad, but while he was at Göttingen the leave of absence was extended, and when he did return to America it was after an absence of more than four years.

That the leave of absence was extended by the special request of Everett, and not without some reluctance on the part of the Harvard officials, is evident by a letter of Cogswell's. In this letter Cogswell says: "I hope that you [Higginson] and every other person interested in the college are reconciled to Mr. Everett's plan to remain longer in Europe than was at first intended, as I am sure you would be do you know the use he makes of his time, and the benefit you are all to derive from his learning. Before I came to Göttingen I used to wonder why it was that he wished to remain here so long; I now wonder that he can consent to leave so soon."⁴

The winter of 1817 was spent in Paris, where he had free access to the King's Library. There he enjoyed the friendship of Koray, whose writings did much to bring about the revolution in Greece; other men of letters whom he met were Visconti, William von Humboldt, the Abbe de Pradt, and Benjamin Constant. He also saw Lafayette occasionally, to whom a few years later he was to pay a tribute that embarked Everett on a political career for the greater portion of his life. Everett was contemplating a visit to the south of Europe before returning to America, and in Paris he studied Italian and modern Greek as a preparation for the tour.

During the summer months of 1818 Everett returned to England, and after a few weeks in London went to Cambridge and Oxford, where from his observations he concluded that the

⁴Higginson, Carlyle's Laugh and Other Surprises, chap. 22, p. 337.

British universities were not only inferior to those in Germany, but likewise inferior to the colleges in America. Then followed a visit to Wales and the English Lakes, and a short excursion to Edinburgh and the Highlands in Scotland. At Abbotsford he spent some time with Scott. Other leading men whom he had already met or was to meet before his return to the continent were Byron, Jeffrey, Campbell, Mackintosh, Romilly, and Davy.

Returning to France in the autumn of 1818 Everett went on a sightseeing tour through Switzerland before going to Italy for the winter. The winter was spent in Rome, where he made the acquaintance of the Bonaparte family. Considerable time was devoted to the study of Roman antiquities, and almost every day found him in the Vatican Library. In February, 1819, he started on the long delayed Grecian tour which Ticknor had planned to make likewise but had given up in order to prepare for the Smith Professorship of Modern Language at Harvard. On this tour Everett visited nearly all the countries in southern Europe and spent a few weeks in Constantinople. Returning from this trip he passed through Austria, the Tyrol, Bavaria, and France, on his way to England. From the latter country he sailed for home and arrived in New York, October, 1819, after an absence from America of nearly four years and seven months. When he returned he was, if not the foremost, one of the foremost Greek scholars in the country; but not alone did he bring back a thorough knowledge of the ancient classics. He had

also studied modern language, the history and principles of civil and public law as professed in the German universities, and the existing political systems of Europe.

From the material now available on the life of Everett, it may be said that two phases of his career show the influence of his residence in Germany. In the first place, his brief career at Harvard shows the influence of his German training; in the second place, that part of his public life which was devoted to popular education shows an influence from his residence in Germany. And the value to American literature of this influence in Everett's life lies mainly in the inspiration he was to others.

From 1820 to 1824 Everett was Professor of Greek at Harvard and editor of the North American Review, and during this brief period he won for himself a scholarly reputation which has endured to the present time. As Professor of Greek he gave a course of lectures on Greek literature, in which he attempted a survey of the entire succession of the authors from Homer to the end of the Alexanderian age. His duties as Greek professor were confined entirely to lecturing, but during this period he translated Buttmann's "Greek Grammar" and a Greek reader. In addition to the lectures on the Greek literature, Everett also gave a course of lectures on the "Literary History of the Old Testament," and another on the "History of Civil Law." To the lecture room he brought the fruits of his German training. Ralph Waldo

Emerson was one of his students, and years later he wrote this of Everett as an instructor:

Germany had created criticism in vain for us until 1820, when Edward Everett returned from his five years in Europe, and brought to Cambridge his rich results, which no one was so fitted by natural grace and the splendor of his rhetoric to introduce and recommend. He made us for the first time acquainted with Wolff's theory of the Homeric writings, and the criticism of Heyne. The novelty of the learning lost nothing in the skill and genius of his relation, and the rudest undergraduate found a new morning opened to him in the lecture-room of Harvard Hall.⁵

Both Everett and Ticknor learned in Germany a new principle of teaching. The two of them held that instructors ought not only to assure themselves that students have learned the things assigned them, but actually to teach. Bancroft said that when Everett entered upon his duties as Professor of Greek, "He burst upon the world around him with a fertility and variety of industry, which even went beyond highly raised expectations."⁶ This fertility and variety of industry was ever a marked feature of Everett's public career. His highest and most enduring fame rests on his career as a public speaker, and it was a common saying by those who heard his many orations on various topics that he spoke as if he were a specialist in each subject on which he discoursed. Yet even though Everett and Ticknor brought back both German industry and scholarship to America, their educational theories were at variance. When Everett became president of Harvard in 1846 he actually set himself against

⁵Emerson, The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, vol. 10, chap. 12, p. 330.

⁶Historical Magazine, vol. 9, p. 80.

the reforms which Ticknor had introduced.

Everett's work as an American scholar in the strictest sense of the term ended in 1824, but during the remainder of his life he continued to serve the cause of American public education. In August, 1824, he addressed the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge on the circumstances favorable to the progress of literature in America. The subject was treated in a scholarly manner and the presentation was done in Everett's graceful style. Lafayette, who was on a visit to America at that time, was in the audience, and when Everett had disposed of the main topic he turned to Lafayette, "And then," says Bancroft, "in a manner peculiarly his own, he spoke the welcome to the returning hero in words which went straight to the heart of his throng of hearers, and which Chateaubriand translated to delighted France. This hour was perhaps the greatest of his life; his triumph too perfect to be renewed . . . and all men in Massachusetts were grateful to him, that what they wished to be done faultlessly well, he had done in a manner of consummate beauty and tenderness."⁷ Everett's fellow-citizens in grateful recognition of his superb tribute to Lafayette sent him to Congress, and Harvard automatically lost its Greek professor.

Everett served the cause of public education in two ways during his public career--as a public official and as a platform speaker. His services to Harvard did not cease

⁷Historical Magazine, vol. 9, p. 80.

with his election to Congress. To the end of his life, except for a few short periods, he was connected with the College in an administrative capacity. As president of that institution he was not particularly successful, owing largely to the fact that he was loaded down with work to the point of drudgery. He did, however, rearrange the administration, and at one time he represented his own school as well as Amherst and Williams, before a legislative committee in an effort to have greater school funds appropriated for the maintenance of the colleges. His European training is manifested in his plea for a better library. He spoke of the library as being the most important part of the institution, and thereby reechoed what Ticknor had already written years ago from Göttingen. Everett, in fact, was always greatly interested in the improvement of libraries. He was one of the prime movers in organizing the Boston Public Library, and when he went abroad, Harvard gave him five hundred dollars to spend for books in Germany. He evidently persuaded the Harvard officials that there were more than five hundred dollars worth of books in Germany that would be of value to his Alma Mater, for after he had been at Göttingen a time he received another five hundred dollars for the same purpose. With the arrival of these books at Harvard, German literature began to be really accessible to Americans for the first time.

It was, however, from Everett's services to elementary and secondary education that the most beneficial re-

sults of his official labors came. He first came to realize in Germany that if American colleges were to produce scholars comparable at all to the graduates of the universities in Germany, the common-school instruction in America must be radically changed. These extracts from two letters will bear this fact out. The first and earliest of the two was written from Göttingen; the second from England. And the two incidentally show what Everett thought of Cambridge and Oxford as compared with the University at Göttingen. From Göttingen he wrote September 17, 1817:

I received this morning my diploma as Doctor of Philosophy of this University, the first American, and as far as I know Englishman, on whom it has been conferred. . . . I try to feel duly grateful to Providence and my friends at home to whom I owe the opportunity of resorting to the famous fountains of European wisdom. The only painful feeling I carry with me is that I may not have the health, or strength, or ability to fulfill the demands which such an opportunity will create and justify. More is apt to be expected in such cases than it is possible to perform; besides that, after the schoolmaster is prepared for his duty, all depends upon whether the schoolboy is also prepared for his. . . . Still more important (reference is to a proposed national university) is the necessity we must impose on the schools of reforming and improving themselves, or, rather, are the steps we must take to create good schools. All we have are bad, the common reading and writing ones not excepted; but of schools which we have to fit boys for college, I think the Boston Latin School and the Andover Academy are the only ones that deserve the name, and much I doubt that they deserve it. There is much truth in the remark so constantly made that we are not old enough for European perfection; but we are old enough to do well all it is worth while to do at all; and if a child here in eight years can read and speak Latin fluently, there is no reason why our youth,

after spending the same time on it, should know little or nothing about it.⁸

Everett had a reputation throughout his life of being timid. These two letters would not indicate, however, that he lacked the courage to tell one of his employers what he thought of American education. The second letter is dated June 6, 1818:

I have been over two months in England, and am now visiting Oxford, having passed a week at Cambridge. There is more teaching and more learning in our American Cambridge than there is in both the English Universities together, though between them they have four times the number of our students. The misfortune for us is that our subjects are not so hopeful. We are obliged to do at Cambridge [U.S.] that which is done at Eton and Westminster, at Winchester, Rugby, and Harrow, as well as at Oxford and Cambridge.⁹

When Everett was governor of Massachusetts education in that state received a new impetus. It was during his administration that the Massachusetts Board of Education was organized. Everett was the first president of the Board, and Horace Mann was its first secretary. As long as Everett was in office he wrote the reports of the organization, and it was he who presented the plea for the establishment of normal schools in order that teachers might be better trained to perform their duties.

Little needs to be said of the services to American education which Everett rendered from the platform. In his own day public speaking served the cause of education as the colleges and universities serve it in our own day. This

⁸Higginson, Carlyle's Laugh and Other Surprises, chap. 22, p. 34.

⁹Ibid., chap. 22, p. 344.

fact is too often forgotten; and Everett deliberately chose to serve his generation from the speaker's platform, first, because it was one of the most effective means of the time, and second, because it offered him an opportunity to make use of his greatest powers. By this method he chose to give his countrymen the fruits of his scholarship, and one need only to open a volume of his orations in order to see the evidence of his studies abroad. His orations are literally filled with allusions arising from his study of Greek--the one subject to which he had given the most attention at Göttingen.

Another aspect of these orations is their democratic tone. Everett's residence in Germany seems to have made him more American in his political and educational outlook. He had little sympathy for the Germanic forms of government, and with all his respect for the German educational systems, he, nevertheless, deplored the fact that they were organized to foster class distinctions. He hoped that in America there would never be established the tendency for a workingman's son to follow in the same trade as his father, that is, to the degree where the tendency would become a national tradition as in Germany.

It was in the effect which Everett had on the minds of the youth in New England that he served the cause of American literature most. His grace and style made him the idol of the young and his German scholarship inspired their minds. Everett himself was never German in his thinking. He proba-

bly never understood and cared less about German philosophy, but he prepared the young men for German ways of thinking. More than any other American, perhaps, he was the creator of a renaissance in New England. He sowed the seeds from which Transcendentalism sprouted. For a time after he returned from Europe he continued to preach in Boston churches, and Emerson, who was a boy at that time, often went from church to church, peeping around the different doors before entering, to make sure his favorite was in the pulpit, before he took a place in the congregation. This is Emerson's testimony to the inspiration from Everett, the Greek professor:

There was an influence on the young people from the genius of Everett which was almost comparable to that of Pericles in Athens. He had an inspiration which did not go beyond his head, but which made him the master of elegance. If any of my readers were at that period in Boston or Cambridge, they will easily remember his radiant beauty of person, of a classic type, his heavy large eye, marble lids, which gave the impression of mass which the slightness of his form needed; sculptured lips; a voice of such rich tones, such precise and perfect utterance, that, although slightly nasal, it was the most mellow and beautiful and correct of all the instruments of the time. The word that he spoke, in the manner in which he spoke it, became current and classical in New England. He had a great talent for collecting facts, and for bring those he had to bear with ingenious felicity on the topic of the moment. Let him rise to speak on what occasion soever, a fact had always just transpired which composed with some fact well know to the audience, the most pregnant and happy coincidence. It was remarked for a man who threw out so many facts he was seldom convicted of a blunder. He had a good deal of special learning, and all his learning was available for the purposes of the hour. It was all new learning, and wonderfully took and stimulated the young men.

It was so coldly and weightily communicated from so commanding a platform, as if the consciousness and consideration of all history and all learning,--adorned with so many simple and austere beauties of expression, and enriched with so many excellent digressions and significant quotations, that, though nothing could be conceived beforehand less attractive or indeed less fit for green boys from Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, with their unripe Latin and Greek reading, than exegetical discourses in the style of Voss and Wolff and Ruhnken, on the Orphic and Anti-Homeric remains,--yet this learning instantly took the highest place to our imagination in our unoccupied American Parnassus. All his auditors felt the extreme beauty and dignity of the manner, and even the coarsest were content to go punctually to listen, for the manner, when they had found out that the subject-matter was not for them. In the lecture-room, he abstained from all ornament, and pleased himself with the play of detailing erudition in a style of perfect simplicity.¹⁰

Everett was not content to confine his influence to the Harvard class-room. He gave up the ministry shortly after he took up his duties as Greek professor, but having given up the ministry, he found another means to make his influence felt. During the winters he gave popular and miscellaneous lectures in and around Boston, and with these lectures he inaugurated the lyceum system in America--the system which was later to be the means by which Emerson was greatly enabled to make himself a potent factor in American thinking. Everett's manner in the pulpit and on the lecture platform was in direct contrast to his manner in the school room according to Emerson. He thus describes him:

¹⁰Emerson, The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, vol. 10, chap. 12, pp. 330-332.

Then was exhibited all the richness of a rhetoric which we have never seen rivaled in this country. . . . All his speech was music, and with such variety and invention that ear was never tired. . . . The smallest anecdote of his behavior or conversation was eagerly caught and repeated, and every young scholar could recite brilliant sentences from his sermons, with mimicry, good or bad, of his voice. This influence went much farther, for he who was heard with such throbbing hearts and sparkling eyes in the lighted and crowded churches, did not let go his hearers when the church was dismissed, but the bright image of that eloquent form followed the boy home to his bedchamber; and not a sentence was written in academic exercises, not a declamation attempted in the college chapel, but showed the omnipresence of his genius to youthful heads.¹¹

There is a passage on Martin Luther in one of Everett's orations, which, except for the reference to the Bible, so exactly describes the thing which Everett did in America that it is fitting to include the passage here:

In the solemn loneliness in which Luther found himself, he called around him not so much the masters of the Greek and Latin wisdom, through the study of the ancient languages, as he did the mass of his own countrymen, by his translation of the Bible. It would have been a matter of tardy impression and remote efficacy, had he done no more than awake from the dusty alcoves of the libraries the venerable shades of the classic teachers. He roused up a population of living, thinking men, his countrymen, his brethren.¹²

The influence of Everett on his countrymen was recognized by the literary men of his day. When he died Bancroft wrote, "There remains no man alive who has given such an impulse to the minds of the young in his generation."¹³

¹¹Emerson, The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, vol. 10, chap. 12, pp. 333-334.

¹²Everett, Orations and Speeches on Various Occasions, vol. 1, p. 605.

¹³Historical Magazine, vol. 9, p. 85.

That he prepared the minds of the young for Germany thinking out of which grew Transcendentalism, yet he himself was never in any strict sense a Transcendentalist, belittles his service to American letters not one whit. He had by his own efforts done much to open up German thought to America, and by his own efforts he had probably done more than any other American to prepare the field for the growth of this thought. And when the harvest was being reaped, although he could not comprehend the fruits, nevertheless, he was held in such veneration and respect, that Emerson was content to smile and remain silent after Everett had said, following Emerson's Phi Beta Kappa address, that the utterances of the Transcendentalists seemed to him to be compounded like the bolts of Jupiter:

Three parts were raging fire, and three
were whelming water,
But three were thirsty cloud, and three
were empty wind.¹⁴

There was something about the influence from Germany which turned the early Americans who studied there to historical subjects. Nearly one-half of Longfellow's poems have medieval settings to say nothing of those that deal with a period of later date. Ticknor became the historian of Spanish literature, and both Bancroft and Motley became historians. Everett, too, turned to the same sort of topics. Many of his orations were on historical subjects, and as long as he treated these subjects as an orator, he was re-

¹⁴Hale, James Russell Lowell and His Friends, chap. 12, p. 203.

markably successful. No one could ever logically contend that a man who turned over to a society \$60,000,--the proceeds from the oration which he delivered on the life of Washington which was delivered about one hundred and twenty times--was other than a phenomenal success as a lecturer on historical subjects. But when he tried his hand at writing biography his success was in no way comparable to that of the others. While possessing many of the requisites of a successful historian, there were others which he lacked. Furthermore, Everett realized his greatest powers lay in his oratory, and to that he dedicated his strength.

The story of the German influence in the life of Edward Everett is mainly the story of that influence expressing itself in the work of a public official. Everett was constantly before the public even during that four year period in which he brought to Harvard the results of his training in Greek from the University of Göttingen. At that time he was preaching and lecturing in and around Boston, and with the close of his term of teaching at Harvard he was for the remainder of his life a public figure.

The results of Everett's studies in Germany were felt in America even before he returned home. Before he came back he was shipping German books to the Harvard library, and when he returned he took to the school room and lecture platform the fruits of his German training. Then when he ceased to be a college instructor he coupled his

services as a lecturer with those of a public official. As a lecturer and teacher he prepared the New England mind for German thinking; as a public official he worked for better educational methods; and as a private citizen he served general education by helping to establish the Boston Public Library. In each course he was influenced by his studies in Germany.

George Bancroft, 1800-1891

While Edward Everett was studying in Germany he proposed to President Kirkland of Harvard that some promising Harvard graduate be sent to Germany for further study that he might qualify himself for membership in the Harvard faculty. The board of control at Harvard approved the idea, and George Bancroft, a favorite of Kirkland's, was sent abroad for study and travel. Bancroft had ranked second in his class and was looked upon as one of the most promising graduates at that time. Like Everett, he had graduated from Harvard at a very early age--before he was seventeen--and like Everett, his abilities and attainments were recognized by the students and teachers alike, so much so in the case of Bancroft that even before he went to Harvard he had been nicknamed "Doctor."

Bancroft sailed for Europe in the early summer of 1818, and during the four years he was abroad his expenses were paid almost wholly by his friends. The Harvard men had raised a purse of \$700 a year for him for study for three years, and \$1000 for a year's travel in France and Italy. To these amounts Bancroft's father, a minister, added \$500.

Bancroft's studies in Germany were in the main determined by his friends, and especially by Dr. Kirkland and Edward Everett. Kirkland doubtless intended that Bancroft's studies should prepare him for the ministry. An extract from the letter of introduction which Kirkland wrote to Professor

Eichhorn at Göttingen reads:

They [his friends] wish him to attend especially to philology, the ancient languages and Oriental literature, that he may thus be qualified to pursue theological studies to the greatest benefit, to give instruction as an opening may occur and invite, and become an accomplished philologist and biblical critic, able to expound and defend the revelation of God.¹

When Bancroft arrived in Göttingen he immediately began the study of German under Benecke, and the reaction of the young Bostonian to German literature was in direct contrast to that of Everett and Ticknor, his predecessors. He wrote of Goethe:

I am only more and more astonished at the indecency and immorality of the latter. He appears to prefer to represent vice as lovely and exciting sympathy, than virtue, and would rather take for his heroine a prostitute or a profligate, than give birth to that purity of thought and loftiness of soul, which it is the peculiar duty of the poet to raise, by connecting his inventions with the actions of heroes, and embodying in verse the merits of the benefactors of mankind.²

Bancroft was not alone astonished at the "indecency and immorality" of the leading German poet; he was astonished and shocked at many phases of German life. Even before he arrived in Göttingen news came to him of a feud then in progress between the citizens and the students, and "The rumours of blood and war made me tremble not a little,"³ he wrote. Such a state of affairs was shocking to the young American but no more so than the appearance of the German

¹Howe, *The Life and Letters of George Bancroft*, vol. 1, chap. 2, p. 33. (This work referred to hereafter as "Howe.")

²Howe, vol. 1, chap. 2, p. 38.

³*Ibid.*, p. 35.

students. Nearly a year after having taken up his residence in Göttingen he wrote to his sister, "I remember even now the first time that I saw a party of them collected and I believed never to have seen any of my fellow beings so rough, uncivilized and without cultivation."⁴ For the so-called German heretical teachings in theology he had been prepared, and his study of German theological works only confirmed what he expected to find. Of these theological works he said, "I find there is in them everything which learning and acuteness can give, and that there is in them nothing, which religious feeling and reverence for Christianity give."⁵ At another time he wrote "Of their infidel systems I hear not a word,"⁶ by which he meant that his mind was entirely closed to their teachings.

These unfavorable impressions lasted through the entire Göttingen period. Whereas Ticknor, Everett, and Cogswell showed the highest enthusiasm in the main for the German scholars and the University, Bancroft spoke of both with disparity. After having been at Göttingen two years, after having been granted the coveted degree of Doctor of Philosophy, he wrote to his old friend President Kirkland:

I go from Göttingen without much regret,
The people here are too cold and unsocial,
too fond of writing books and too incap-

⁴Howe, vol. 1, chap. 2, p. 59.

⁵Ibid., p. 64.

⁶Ibid., p. 55.

able of conversing, having more than enough of courtesy, and almost nothing of actual hospitality. I admire their industry; but they do not love labor; I consider their vast erudition with astonishment; yet it lies as a dead weight on society. The men of letters for the most part are ill bred; many of them are altogether without manners.⁷

During the Göttingen period Bancroft studied German under Benecke, Italian and French literature under Artand and Bunsen; Oriental languages and New Testament Greek under Eichhorn; natural history under Blumenbach; and the antiquities and literature of Greece and Rome under Dissen with whom he also studied Greek philosophy; and history under Heeren, the greatest historian at that time and one of the most scientific of all historians. During these two years he sometimes preached in the vicinity of Göttingen; and twice he went on walking trips in Germany. On the first trip he visited many of the principal cities and met many of the eminent scholars and writers among whom were Gesenius, Spohn, and Goethe. At this time Bancroft was contemplating the establishment of a preparatory school upon his return to America, and in each city he made a minute study of the school systems. The second trip was a tour through the Hartz mountains in the company of four men, each of whom was of a different nationality.

In September, 1820, Bancroft went to Berlin to study at the University. There he was much happier than at Göttingen. On November 5 he wrote to President Kirkland:

⁷Howe, vol. 1, chap. 2, p. 85.

I have already been here about six weeks, and I feel abundant cause of joy for having come here. The character of the men of letters is quite the reverse of the character of the Göttingen Professors. There an abhorrence is felt for all innovations; here the new, that is good or promises to lead to good, cannot be too soon adopted.⁸

At this time the universities and high schools in Prussia were rapidly becoming the best in Germany, and Bancroft was aware of those excellencies in the Prussian system at this early date which were to make the University of Berlin the principal seat of study for foreigners after the middle of the century.

During the winter Bancroft continued those studies which he had begun at Göttingen. Among the teachers with whom he studied were Schliermacher, Boeckh, Hegel, and Wolff. In February he started for Paris, beginning that part of his sojourn in Europe which was to be devoted to travel. At Heidelberg, however, he wrote to Dr. Kirkland, "After long consideration I have determined to profit for four or six weeks by the learning and affability of the Heidelberg scholars, and then go to Paris."⁹ The eminent historian Schlosser was the scholar from which he expected to profit most, but of Bancroft's relation to Schlosser, Professor Sloane has written that Bancroft, "was scarcely conscious of his influence."¹⁰

⁸Howe, vol. 1, chap. 2, p. 89.

⁹Ibid., p. 99.

¹⁰Sloane, Century, vol. 11, n.s., p. 477.

From May until August, 1821, Bancroft was in Paris. There he was admitted to the company of the scholars. From the Germans he had brought letters of introduction, particularly from William von Humboldt. In Paris he met Alexander Humboldt, A. W. Schlegel, Washington Irving, LaFayette, Benjamin Constant, Victor Cousin and others. During the month of August he made a hurried trip to London to visit his American friend Samuel A. Eliot. After his return from London he went by way of Switzerland to Italy. The winter months were spent in Italy, where he met Byron, Niebuhr, and formed a life long friendship with Bunsen. In May, 1822, he again returned to France, sailing home on June 12.

Bancroft's second period in Germany, from 1867 to 1874, is of more interest to the student of history than to the student of literature. During these seven years he was successively minister to Prussia, to the North German Confederation, and to the German Empire. He was, then, the United States representative in Germany at the time unification of the German states was consummated. During this period he served his country with distinction. His early training in Germany and his acquaintance with German habits of thought and life fitted him peculiarly well for the rôle he had to play. His period of service lasted through two different administrations at Washington, and when he was recalled it was by his own request.

While Bancroft was minister to German he wrote one

volume of his History. He had at his command the archives of all the German states as well as those of England and France. (Prior to his appointment to the German office, he had been minister to England, and while serving in that capacity the archives of England and France had been opened to him.) Historians in general have looked upon Bancroft's political career as almost providential. His residence abroad made it possible for him to gather materials for his History which he otherwise would never have had. Bancroft always considered himself a man of letters primarily and his political career as of secondary importance. His first interest was, therefore, in his literary work, and while his political activities considerably lessened the time he might have devoted to writing, it did, on the other hand, increase the opportunities for writing in a more scholarly manner.

Aside from the political events and the diplomatic achievements, the most interesting incident in connection with Bancroft's ministry in Germany occurred on the ninth of September, 1870. Fifty years before to the day the University of Göttingen had conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and in commemoration of the event the University conferred the degree anew and presented him with a new diploma. Then came a special delegation from the University of Berlin to offer congratulations, which was followed by another from the Berlin Academy for the same purpose. Similar honors from other German institutions and

from prominent Germans followed one after another during the whole of the day, yet out of these activities came one unfortunate incident. Bismarck, who was in the field with the army, sent a telegram of congratulations. Bancroft, although his sympathies were with the Germans in the France-Prussian War, acknowledged the greetings with an unbiased answer which was, nevertheless, misinterpreted by the French. The French severely criticised Bancroft, and a number of erroneous rumors arose concerning the attitude of the American government, but further than that the incident did not go.

These honors which were bestowed upon Bancroft bespeak of more regard than that held by a country for a successful diplomat, and the fact was that Germany looked upon Bancroft as her own son. His attitude now toward the Germans is different from that of the young man who studied at Göttingen fifty years before. During his entire time at Göttingen he showed little sympathy for German thought and modes of life. Later when he went to Berlin to study his earlier attitude was modified somewhat, and he became enthusiastic about certain phases of German life, particularly the educational system as it existed in Prussia. During this entire first period abroad he was also taking on foreign mannerisms, some of which had at first been repulsive to him. Now as the United States representative to Germany he seems fully in accord with the phases of German life with which he comes in contact. Many writers have said that Bancroft by nature was peculiarly sympathetic with Ger-

man modes of thought and life, and others like John Spenser Bassett have said that he readily took on the ideals of the environment wherever he was when that environment made possible the accomplishment of the things which he thought desirable. It may be that his personality had changed to the extent that he found himself in sympathy with German life or it may be that through being an important member of a distinguished circle he took on the color of that life. Whatever the reason, or reasons, he identified himself with the life about him to a marked degree. One American student wrote that upon presenting letters of introduction from Bancroft to Mommsen and Ranke each exclaimed in turn, "He is one of us."¹¹ When Bancroft was preparing to return to America the Emperor sent him a letter announcing "That his most gracious lord, the Emperor and King, has condescended to appoint the presentation of his imperial likeness to the honored Ambassador on the occasion of the latter's leaving his present official position."¹² At the same time the Royal Academy gave a farewell dinner, and the Universities of Munich, Berlin, and Heidelberg united in a farewell greeting, "the words of which contain sentiments which might satisfy the most soaring ambition,"¹³ says Professor Sloane.

In August, 1820, Bancroft wrote a letter to Pro-

¹¹Howe, vol. 2, chap. 8, p. 272.

¹²Ibid., p. 273.

¹³Sloane, Century, vol. 11, n. s., p. 487.

fessor Norton of Harvard in which he defended his attitude toward the German students. Norton, who was one of his best friends and supporters, felt that Bancroft had exaggerated the "barbarisms" of the German students. Bancroft defended himself calmly enough and pointed out among other offensive student customs that of kissing after a separation-- "twice as lustily as Romeo ever kissed Juliet."¹⁴ And yet, when Bancroft returned from Europe it is said that he greeted Professor Norton in the European fashion--with a kiss on each cheek.¹⁵ Bancroft's studies in Germany had probably influenced his thinking less than had the German studies of Everett and Ticknor. But Bancroft, unlike Everett and Ticknor, had taken on foreign mannerisms while abroad, and in this respect he was unfortunate. These mannerisms were to contribute largely to his lack of success in a number of undertakings for several years. These European affectations soon alienated a large number of his former friends and benefactors, the first of whom was Professor Norton. There were only a few, among them Ticknor and Kirkland, who had sufficient foresight to see the truth in Emerson's statement, "He needs a great deal of cutting and pruning, but we think him an infant Hercules."¹⁶

As early as January, 1819, Bancroft wrote to President Kirkland that, "The plan of life, which I have adopted, indicates very clearly that I must become, either

¹⁴Howe, vol. 1, chap. 2, p. 77.

¹⁵Bassett, The Middle Group of American Historians, chap. 3, p. 141.

¹⁶Howe, vol. 1, chap. 3, p. 165.

an instructor at the University, or a clergyman, or set up a high school."¹⁷ After his return from Europe Bancroft tried all three in turn, and in each he failed. He was first a tutor at Harvard. There he remained for one year, 1822-1823. His services were unsatisfactory to the Harvard officials, and he found the situation intolerable. Here is the way he spoke of his work: "I have found college a sickening and wearisome place. Not one spring of comfort have I had to draw from. My state has been nothing but trouble, trouble, trouble, and I am heartily glad that the end of the year is coming so soon."¹⁸ Harvard, too, was glad to see the day of parting. One official wrote of Bancroft:

An unsuccessful scholar, pet of Dr. Kirkland's who like Everett had four years abroad, mostly Germany, and at the expense of the college,-- came here unfit for anything. His manners, style of writing, Theology, etc., bad, and as a tutor only the laughing butt of all college. Such an one was easily marked as unfit for a school.¹⁹

Bancroft had taken his German training too seriously, and to this training his failure at Harvard may be largely ascribed. "He was," says John Spencer Bassett, "supremely confident of himself, he imitated the German professors in external matters, he carried himself with the air of a military man, he was very exacting of his students, and finally, he had decided ideas that the college was dying of antiquated ideas."²⁰ Yet Bancroft was not without his defenders.

¹⁷Howe, vol. 1, chap. 2, p. 54.

¹⁸Ibid., chap. 3, p. 163.

¹⁹Higginson, Carlyle's Laugh and Other Surprises, chap. 22, p. 347.

²⁰Bassett, The Middle Group of American Historians, chap. 3, p. 141.

Ticknor held the college authorities equally responsible for the unsatisfactory situation. But Bancroft's foreign mannerisms and strong will were too much for the authorities, despite the fact that his Greek classes made more progress than those of previous years.

In the meantime Bancroft was preaching in and around Boston. His heart, however, was not in this work, for he believed that the country needed good instructors more than good preachers, and he also believed himself better fitted for the former. His congregations generally criticised him for lacking enthusiasm, although there were a few like Emerson who were favorably impressed by his eloquence. But regardless of Bancroft's merits or demerits as a minister, this activity must be set down as his second failure.

Bancroft's next undertaking, that of founding the famous Round Hill School at Northhampton with Joseph Green Cogswell, was to be his most pretentious undertaking up to this time. While in Germany he had become interested in the German school systems and in the new ideas on education which were being proposed by the lecturers, especially in the University at Berlin. This German influence coupled with the dissatisfaction arising from his position at Harvard were the main factors which determined him to become a schoolmaster. He was also encouraged by his friends to found a preparatory school, especially by Everett who had returned from Germany believing that American educational reforms should begin in the secondary schools.

The purpose of the Round Hill experiment was, according to Ticknor, "to teach more thoroughly than has ever been taught among us."²¹ The school was modelled distinctly on the German plan with the attending rambles through the woods and annual walking tours. From 1823 to 1834 it ran its course and then failed largely because it had not logically connected up with the higher educational institutions, and because of poor financial management. Bancroft had withdrawn from the project in 1831, and seems to have been little more successful as a schoolmaster than as a tutor or minister. One of his students wrote of him years later that he often became deeply engrossed in his reading, and the boys would quietly one by one make their escape from the school room. The escape, he said, was made easier because of Bancroft's near-sightedness.²²

These failures as a tutor, as a minister, and as a schoolmaster were closely allied to and paralleled by another type of activity which like the others was first to result in failure, but ultimately in the highest type of success. During this entire period Bancroft was serving a literary apprenticeship and laying the foundation for an undertaking which was to make him the greatest American historian of his age. And in Bancroft's literary works, as well as in his other undertakings thus far described, the

²¹Higginson, Carlyle's Laugh and Other Surprises, chap. 9, p. 102.

²²Ellis, Educational Review, vol. 1, p. 337.

German influence can be directly traced.

Bancroft's first efforts as a literary man were as a poet. In 1823 he published a small volume entitled, "Poems"--all the poems being European in their settings. Nearly all these poems were written before he returned to America, and Bancroft soon realized that his abilities did not lie in the direction of poetry. There is a tradition that in his later years he "took every means to collect and destroy all obtainable copies of his poems."²³

Bancroft next turned to the preparation of school books, and the underlying purpose in this work was to make accessible the work of the German masters for teaching purposes. In 1824 he published an abridgment of Buttman's "Greek Grammar" and a translation of Heeren's "Reflections on the Politics of Greece." The next year he translated Jacob's "Latin Reader," and again in 1826 followed another adaptation from the German, Nepos's "De Vita Excellentium Imperatorum." In 1829 two more translations appeared, Zumpt's "Latin Grammar," and Heeren's "History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies, from the Discovery of America to the Independence of the American Continent." Bancroft translated only a part of the latter work, which was in two volumes, but he supervised the work of the translators. In these undertakings he was successful. He became recognized at home and in England as a scholar, and he was well awarded financially for his work as a translator.

²³Howe, vol. 1, chap. 3, p. 166.

In the meantime, Bancroft was doing a more important type of writing so far as training was concerned. From 1823 to 1834 he wrote seventeen articles for the North American Review, all of which dealt with classical or German subjects to 1831. In 1831 he began to write on political topics. His relationships were not happy with the North American Review partly because the editors insisted on changing his contributions to fit the policy of the publication and partly because he was biased in favor of German scholarship. In the latter case he was censored for his German proclivities. In 1824 Jared Sparks, the editor, wrote Bancroft:

Some of the old school have expressed to me their apprehensions since your last article, that the North American is becoming too partial to the Germans, at the expense of our worthy brethren the English. One gentleman made bold to say to me, that the English had written as good Greek grammars as anybody, and that they ought at least to have a passing compliment.²⁴

But if Bancroft was injudicious in his praise of German scholarship, he was also unjust in his attitude toward Goethe.

It cannot be said with truth that the year 1831 marks a turning point in the life of George Bancroft; this date merely marks the end of the last of all those undertakings which were, if not downright failures, only partial successes. In these years following the return from Europe the personality of the young man was changing. The personal mannerisms were becoming less offensive, and the reforming zeal was becoming less passionate. He was, in a word, becoming practical. This change in his personality was to con-

²⁴ Bassett, The Middle Group of American Historians, chap. 3, p. 155.

tinue. From the youth who embarrassed and alienated friends, he was to become in his later years the honored and beloved citizen²⁵--almost the "first citizen." Yet through all these years he retained in his actions and manners something from the Germans. There is an anecdote told about him which illustrates this statement. When he was a student at Göttingen he had formed the habit of riding for exercise, a habit which lasted throughout his life. While he was living in Washington in his later years he often rode past the Soldier's Home. The story is told that a man who did not know Bancroft had met him several times, and being struck by the military appearance inquired of the guard at the gate of the Home who he was. The guard replied, "That is an old German named Bancroft."²⁶

When Bancroft retired from the Round Hill School he turned to the writing of history, and from that time on he played two major rôles in the life of his country--as a writer of histories and as a politician. And it is with Bancroft, the historian, that the remainder of this paper is primarily concerned.

There are several reasons why Bancroft turned to history. In the first place, he desired to become a literary man. In October, 1829, he had written to a friend, "I should be grateful could I obtain that personal leisure, which might enable me to enter the career of letters with

²⁵Howe, vol. 2, chap. 9, p. 281.

²⁶Bassett, The Middle Group of American Historians, chap. 3, p. 199.

some reasonable expectation of doing myself justice."²⁷ In the second place, Bancroft's father had attained a degree of success by writing a life of Washington. In the third place, one of his major studies in Germany had been history, and the men under whom he had studied this subject were among the most influential teachers of his time. And in the last place, Bancroft had attempted nearly everything except history for which he had been prepared by training; and in each of these things he had attained no marked degree of success.

Bancroft's reputation as a historian rests chiefly on his monumental work, The History of the United States. And in order to determine the part that Bancroft's German training played in this work, it is necessary first of all to consider the motive behind the project. This motive was his regard for history as a discipline of philosophy, according to Sloane.²⁸ Bancroft, himself, had given as his reason the "desire to see if facts would not clear up theories and assist in getting out the true one."²⁹ But how were these theories to be cleared up and the true one got out? Sloane, who knew Bancroft well and was himself a historian, gives the answer from Bancroft's point of view:

The only test of philosophic truth is to examine the collective will of mankind, purged from the conflicting doubts, passions, and emotions of individuals. There is the same conservation of force in the moral as in the

²⁷Bassett, The Middle Group of American Historians, chap. 3, p. 165.

²⁸Sloane, Century, vol. 11, n. s., p. 484.

²⁹The Americana, vol. 3, p. 133.

physical world; you must, therefore, seek a power universal from eternity.³⁰

At this point Bancroft's philosophy begins to partake of German mysticism. Here he stands on common ground with the Transcendentalists:

The spark of the divine in us enables us to arrive at the infinitely perfect, and by what is divine in man we are younger brethren of the Elder Brother, who is all divine.³¹

One who adheres to this philosophy "views history as a unit, its forces as constant, and their manifestations as parts of an organized whole."³² Heeren held these views, and Bancroft reflects the same attitude in the very first sentence of the "Introduction" of the History: "The United States of America constitutes an essential portion of a great political system, embracing all the civilized nations of the earth."³³

Bancroft's historical methods in their relationship to the German historians have given his critics considerable difficulty. There seems to be little doubt that he caught from the Germans his enthusiasm for minute painstaking erudition, and from the standpoint of style he probably owed something to his German training. In speaking of this latter aspect of his History Professor Sloane says:

Whether fortunately or unfortunately, the critical method in philology had not yet engulfed all others, and the enthusiasm of German studies at that day was expended on

³⁰Sloane, Century, vol. 11, n. s., p. 484.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid.

³³Bancroft, The History of The United States, vol. 1, p. 1.

the beauties of the style, and material of what they read. With his fellows Bancroft read, both Greek and German, and formed a taste and capacity for word generalizations.³⁴

A difficulty, however, arises in attributing to the Germans this tendency of Bancroft's to labor for the beauties of style. It is true that Bancroft labored diligently to write literature as well as history. It is also true that Everett, who had his philological training in Germany, gave much attention to style and diction. And it is again true that Ticknor, who likewise had been trained in Germany, attempted to write, not a dry history of Spanish literature, but one that would be entertaining to the average reader. But at this time the Germans were not the only ones who gave attention to style, nor were the scholarly works of all the German masters marked by passages of poetical beauty. Heeren, the greatest historian of them all, was dry, concise and brief.

Ultimately a consideration of the German influence on Bancroft's historical methods turns to Heeren. The reason for this is that Heeren was the greatest German historian of his age, and Bancroft had studied under him at Göttingen. And when the critics come to consider Heeren's influence, they cannot agree. Bassett who believes that Heeren exercised little or no influence states his case thus:

If his teacher at Göttingen had made him love history, he would hardly have

³⁴Sloane, Century, vol. 11, n. s., p. 475.

come home filled with enthusiasm for another subject. As to historical method, Heeren's characteristics were balanced judgment, impartiality, and great insight; and he gave much prominence to economic factors of history. Probably no critic will claim that Bancroft had these qualities in a high degree. He was chiefly a historian of political life.

Moreover, Heeren's style was exceedingly dry, while Bancroft's was exceedingly vivid. A chapter of the German's book is a series of minute statements of facts, concise and brief; one of Bancroft's chapters is a scene from a drama, in which unity of action, enthusiasm for the subject, and descriptive power are joined in a brilliant manner.³⁵

In contrast to the opinions of Bassett are those of Sloane who almost takes the opposite position:

But by far the most influential man of the faculty was Heeren, who was as well the leading mind in all Europe in historical criticism. There is traceable throughout Bancroft's life, both in his history and his political course, the most marked and decided influence of Heeren, and the splendid work which set on foot what was neither more or less than a revolution in historical science.³⁶

Heeren, himself, had something to say, though indirectly, on this subject. He warmly approved the first volume of the History, and believed that he had had something to do with the shaping of Bancroft's career. In a letter to Bancroft he gives something of his conception of the way history should be written, and the degree to which Bancroft had measured up to his conception. One of the most

³⁵Bassett, The Middle Group of American Historians, chap. 3, p. 173.

³⁶Sloane, Century, vol. 11, n. s., p. 475.

interesting things in this letter is the fact that Heeren looked upon Bancroft in one particular at least as belonging to the school of German historians rather than to the English or French schools. Extracts from the letter give the position of Heeren:

Never have I been so agreeably surprised. . . . I am still reading your book, and the further I read the more it rivets my attention. You have measured with masterly care and constant effort. I am amazed at the mass of sources you have used, and I rejoice that the library in New Cambridge, being open to you, has met all your requirements. The care with which in each case you have given the authorities enables the reader throughout to investigate for himself. This exceedingly scrupulous care, which, moreover, you cannot hope for in the English and French writers, is your great merit,-- all the more since you, so far as possible consulted contemporary writings. In this way, therefore, while you have performed the duties of the historian with respect to facts, you have not failed in those of the historiographer. The treatment is entirely worthy the subject. . . . You have more than once remembered me in the footnotes. It is one of the pleasantest thoughts to me,-- and I hope no presumption,--that I have helped somewhat in the training of the historian of the United States. What higher reward could a teacher wish?³⁷

Following George Bancroft's return to America from his studies in Germany, his career for several years was that of one attempting to make use of his German training. As a tutor, minister, and schoolmaster he was only partially successful, and in each of these undertakings Bancroft's failures were the result in part to certain repulsive mannerisms which he had acquired abroad. During this period his

³⁷Howe, vol. 1, chap. 4, p. 209.

highest success was attained in German translations.

After the close of Round Hill, Bancroft occupied himself in writing history, except when he was serving his country as a foreign minister. His historical works are marked both by German scholarship and German historical philosophy.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, 1807-1882

It was a happy and fortunate youth who left his home in Portland, Maine, in April, 1826, for an European sojourn of a little more than three years; for to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow had come not only the opportunity to travel and study in Europe but also the assurance that congenial work would be awaiting him upon his return which would enable him to pursue his literary ambition. Young Longfellow, who at this time was only nineteen, had been desirous of entering upon a literary career for some time prior to his graduation from Bowdoin College in 1825, but up until that time no satisfactory means had been found whereby these desires might be realized. The choice of a profession had caused the Longfellow family considerable anxiety. Longfellow's father, who was inclined to look upon the choice of a profession with a more practical eye than his son, took the attitude that the profession of letters was very well for those who had the leisure and money to pursue it, but hardly the thing for a young man whose livelihood depended upon his profession. As a means of deferring the choice between what seemed to be a prudent profession and the one Longfellow desired to enter, the family had decided that Henry should go to Harvard for a year after his graduation. At Harvard he was to continue his general studies, and if by the end of the first year there still seemed to be no opening toward a literary career, Longfellow was to take up

the profession of law.

But the plan for study at Harvard was to come to naught, happily for those concerned. Madam Bowdoin, after whose husband Bowdoin College had been named, had given \$1000 to the college toward the founding of a Professorship of Modern Languages. At Commencement in 1825 the Board of Trustees voted to establish the chair, and Longfellow was asked to prepare himself to become its first incumbent. His father, a member of the board, had returned home with the news that an informal proposal had been made that Longfellow should visit Europe for the purpose of fitting himself for the position with the understanding that on his return he should be appointed to the professorship.

Longfellow did not start for Europe immediately, the success of an ocean voyage in those days being somewhat dependent upon the season in which it was undertaken. When he did set sail from New York for Havre, France, on May 15, 1826, it was after a rather leisurely trip from Portland. On his way down to New York he visited Professor Ticknor, at Harvard, who armed him with letters of introduction to Professor Eichhorn in Germany, Washington Irving in Spain, and Robert Southey in England. Ticknor strongly recommended that Longfellow begin his studies at Göttingen and reside there at least a year. At Round Hill Cogswell and Bancroft further recommended a year's residence at Göttingen, and while Longfellow wrote his father that "their opinion on

the subject is of much weight,"¹ he, nevertheless, proceeded to ignore the advice almost wholly.

Longfellow spent from the middle of June, 1826, to the following March in France. During the greater portion of this time he was in Paris, where he attempted to master the French language. From France he went to Spain where he met Washington Irving at Madrid who gave him letters of introduction "to Rumigny, Böttiger, Löwenstein, Scott, and Sotheby."² After eight months in Spain Longfellow went to Italy for a year of travel and study. In a letter to his father from Venice dated December 19, 1828, he writes of his progress in the various languages:

With the French and Spanish languages I am familiarly conversant, so as to speak them correctly, and write them with as much ease and fluency as I do the English. The Portuguese I read without difficulty. And with regard to my proficiency in the Italian, I have only to say that all at the hotel where I lodge took me for an Italian until I told them I was an American.

I intend leaving Venice in a few days for Dresden. I do not wish to return without a competent knowledge of German; and all that I can do to acquire it shall be done.³

To attain this "competent knowledge of German"

Longfellow went to Germany shortly after this letter was written. From Venice he proceeded to Vienna by way of Trieste. Vienna he found to be a city full of antique in-

¹Samuel Longfellow, Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, vol. 1, chap. 6, p. 73. (This work is referred to hereafter as "Longfellow.")

²Longfellow, vol. 1, chap. 8, p. 117.

³Ibid., vol. 1, chap. 10, p. 156.

terests, and to make his descriptions of some of these objects of antiquity more realistic to his brother Stephen, he illustrated one of his letters with a number of line sketches. From Vienna Longfellow went directly to Dresden by way of Prague, arriving in Dresden about the middle of January over a route which "was not very interesting."⁴

Dresden was not a happy choice for study. Longfellow's journal gives a rather complete account of his activities in that city, and they are a daily round of social, rather than studious, activities for the most part. Furthermore the youth was by this time somewhat weary of being away from home. A little later he wrote his father from Göttingen, "While at Dresden, I felt no other desire than that of returning home."⁵ Coupled with this feeling of homesickness was another disconcerting influence. The Board of Trustees at Bowdoin College now felt that it would be unable to pay Longfellow the salary of a full professor upon this return, and the worry resulting from the uncertainty of the position interfered with his studies.

Longfellow did not remain long in Dresden, but went soon to Göttingen, where his studious interests were renewed. In February he wrote to his father, "My desire to pass a year here springs up anew. Allow me at least, then, to pass the summer here."⁶ The letters of introduction by

⁴Longfellow, vol. 1, chap. 11, p. 162.

⁵Ibid., vol. 1, chap. 11, p. 166.

⁶Ibid., vol. 1, chap. 11, p. 166.

Bancroft and Ticknor were well received by the professors and enabled him to make valuable contacts at the very start. He was particularly impressed by the library, which was the largest in Germany at that time. He found the university not overrated for his particular studies, and as there were no distractions, he was enabled to devote practically all of his time to the study of French, Spanish, old English, and German Literature. During the spring vacation Longfellow spent a month in a tour to and from London, and part of the return trip was by way of steamboat on the Rhine. The Rhine, he described, as "a noble river, but not so fine as the Hudson."⁷ The old castles did not fail to impress him, however, particularly the castle of Vautsberg, of which he wrote, "I never saw a more picturesque object, and seldom a more lovely view."⁸

Back in Göttingen again Longfellow had hardly settled down to work when a letter from home ended his first period in Germany. His parents thought he had been absent long enough, and his eldest sister was seriously ill. Longfellow left the city immediately but before he sailed the news of his sister's death reached him.

Late in 1834 Longfellow received a letter from Josiah Quincy notifying him that he had been chosen to succeed George Ticknor as Smith Professor of Modern Languages at Harvard. This letter seemed to imply a request that he

⁷ Longfellow, vol. 1, chap. 11, p. 170.

⁸ Ibid., vol. 1, chap. 11, p. 170.

spend a year or eighteen months in Europe "for the purpose of a more perfect attainment in German."⁹ Longfellow accordingly resigned the professorship at Bowdoin College, which he had held since his return from Europe, and set sail, accompanied by his wife and some friends, from New York in April, 1835.

The Longfellows did not go directly to Germany, but gave themselves, first of all, a three weeks' vacation in London. There they entered into the best society of the day, and among those with whom they became pleasantly acquainted were the Carlyles. Early in June they went to Hamburg, and thence to Copenhagen, and later to Stockholm where Longfellow studied the Scandinavian languages. In the latter city the midsummer months were spent in sightseeing and studying Swedish and Finnish. Early in September they returned to Copenhagen where Longfellow took lessons in Danish. A month later they went to Holland, and at Amsterdam Mrs. Longfellow fell ill. Her illness detained them almost a month. At Rotterdam Mrs. Longfellow again fell ill and died November 29, 1835. The suddenness of Mrs. Longfellow's death stunned Longfellow. If he suspected that her illness might prove fatal, the fact is nowhere revealed in his letters or journals. Just a few days before her death he thought she was recovering from her illness, and the tragedy coming to one of Longfellow's temperament was such as to make impossible the intensive study which he had planned to do in

⁹ Longfellow, vol. 1, chap. 13, p. 202.

Germany.

From Rotterdam, Longfellow proceeded to Heidelberg. At Bonn he visited the cathedral and called upon Schlegel, the translator of Shakespeare. From Bonn the journey was continued along the Rhine. After a day's journey the night was spent at Rolandseck, and on the following morning he saw in the early dawn the Drachenfels "in its hood of mist, like a monk, solemn and severe."¹⁰ This same morning the journey was resumed and Longfellow reached Coblenz early enough in the afternoon to cross the river and stand upon the esplanade of Ehrenbreitstein in the gathering twilight. The journey from Coblenz to Heidelberg took two full days, and a night was spent in Bingen. Short stops were also made at the castle of Stolzenfels, at "the brothers," and at the cathedral in Worms.

A few days after his arrival in Heidelberg, Longfellow established himself in the house of Frau Himmelhahn. In this house he met as fellow lodgers, Professor Bertrand of the University, and the Russian Baron von Ramm, who was to become his companion on many rambles through the countryside. Here in Heidelberg he also met Mittermaier, a law professor and leader of the liberals; Gervinus, a writer on German literature; Schlosser, the professor of Modern History; Reichlen-Meldegg, who was lecturing on Shakespeare and Schiller; Thibaut, who lectured on Pandects; Paulus, a rationalistic theologian; and his own countrymen, William

¹⁰ Longfellow, vol. 1, chap. 15, p. 213.

Cullen Bryant and Samuel Ward.

A letter from home on Christmas eve brought him additional sorrow. His brother-in-law and dearest friend, George W. Pierce, had died. Nearly twenty years later he wrote of Pierce, "I never ceased to feel that in his death something was taken from my own life which could never be restored."¹¹

With the opening of the new year Longfellow began a careful study of German literature from its origin. As he says of Paul Flemming he "buried himself in books,--in old dusty books. He worked his way diligently through the ancient poetic lore of Germany, into the bright, sunny land of harvests, where, amid the golden grain and the blue corn-flowers, walk the modern bards, and sing."¹² But not all of his time was confined to study. Long walks were taken with friends about the pleasant environs of the old town, and to Handschuhsheim, to Rohrbach, to the tower of Königsstuhl, and to the heights of the Wolfsbrunnen.

From early July to near the end of September Longfellow was on a journey through Tyrol and Switzerland. In Switzerland he met the Nathan Appleton family from Boston. A part of the journey was spent in their pleasant company, and a daughter, Frances Elizabeth--the Mary Ashburton of Hyperion,--was to become his wife six years later. The latter part of August found Longfellow back at Heidelberg

¹¹Longfellow, vol. 1, chap. 15, p. 216.

¹²H. W. Longfellow, Prose Works, vol. 2, chap. 8, p. 70.

preparing to start for home. The following entry in his journal gives the state of his feelings at that time; "A sad and lonely journey I have had, and am glad, glad that it is over. But in a few days the toil of travel begins again."¹³ Within a week Longfellow was on his way to America.

Longfellow made his third trip to Germany in 1842. Somewhat run down in health he had obtained a six months' leave of absence from his teaching duties and went abroad to try the "water-cure" at Marienberg, near Boppard on the Rhine. On his way to the Rhine he spent a few days in Paris visiting acquaintances he had made on former trips. From Paris he made a trip through Belgium, thence up the Rhine to Marienberg.

The "water-cure" consisted for the most part of a series of baths given throughout the day, special attention to diet, much exercise, and plenty of sleep. Above all the patient's activities were carefully regulated. Longfellow enjoyed especially the long walks and the excursions on the Rhine, and it was on one of the latter that he met Ferdinand Freiligrath, a young German poet at St. Goar, with whom he was to form a warm friendship and continue a correspondence throughout life.

Longfellow wrote little except letters at Marienberg. "The Belfry of Bruges" may have been begun there, but otherwise he wrote no verse except the sonnet "Mezzo Cammin."

¹³ Longfellow, vol. 1, chap. 16, p. 238.

Two of his poems, "Excelsior" and the "Skeleton in Armor," were translated into the German by Freiligrath. What available time he had was given to a study of the younger German poets, among whom, he thought, Freiligrath stood at the head.

As Longfellow's vacation drew near its end, he made his way down the Rhine, through Belgium to Ostend, thence to London where he was the guest of Dickens for several days before sailing for home. On the return voyage he composed his anti-slavery poems.

In 1868-69, Longfellow was again in Europe for his fourth and last tour. The sole object of the trip was pleasure, and it became what might almost be called a triumphal tour. For years he had expressed a desire to revisit those pleasant scenes in Europe which had meant so much to him in his early manhood, and when his son, just married, was about to make a European tour in 1868, Longfellow decided to accompany him. The group did not cease to grow with the poet's decision to join his son and daughter-in-law. Longfellow took his three daughters; and his brother, two sisters, and T. G. Appleton later joined the group.

The party was gone for eighteen months, and but a small portion of the time was spent in Germany. First of all there were a few weeks of sightseeing in Great Britain; then followed a trip up the Rhine to Switzerland. There the summer months were spent. In the autumn the party went to Paris and then to Italy for the winter. In the spring the party again entered Germany, and visits were made to

Innsbruck, Munich, Nuremberg, and Dresden. From Germany the party moved across Switzerland to Paris; thence again to Great Britain for a tour through Devonshire and Scotland before embarking for home.

Of all the countries in which Longfellow studied during his first trip to Europe, Germany, the European country which was later to influence him most, meant the least to him. The lack of influence from Germany was due in part to the fact that he was there for a much shorter period of time than he was in France, Spain, and Italy. But there were other reasons why Longfellow was not susceptible to German influence. He went abroad to travel quite as much as to study. At no time did he become the delving student for the type of exact scholarship for which the German schools were then famous. He greatly admired the University at Göttingen, but his letters do not show a fraction of the enthusiasm for the German educational system that the letters of Bancroft, Ticknor, Everett, and Cogswell show. Göttingen failed to "up-set" him, to use Cogswell's term. Furthermore, as has already been said, Longfellow had become weary of being absent from home, and his studies were carried on there as a matter of duty. One month before his sudden departure for home he wrote his father, "I would not remain a moment, were it not from the persuasion of its necessity."¹⁴

¹⁴Longfellow, vol. 1, chap. 11, p. 171.

As to other phases of German life, Longfellow was equally indifferent; and while it is true that he later used in his literary works some German scenes that had impressed him during this visit, these works were not written until after his third visit to Germany. Even the most he could say for the great Paganini was, "How the world goes mad after a 'fiddler.'"¹⁵ However, in connection with the German influence, it must be remembered that the period between the first and second European visits was almost wholly barren of literary efforts. The entire output consisted of one or two poems; a few magazine articles, most of which were later incorporated into Outre-Mer; and a number of textbook translations. All of these works in so far as they reflect the life of the Old World reflect the influence of France, Spain, and Italy. The narrative in Outre-Mer, which is modeled on the style of Irving's Sketch Book, follows Longfellow's travels throughout Europe rather closely, but the narrative virtually ceases with Austria, the last country visited before Germany. Only a mere mention is made of that period of time spent in Europe after Longfellow left Austria.

During the six year interval between the first and second visits to Europe there was scarcely a single indication that Longfellow would later become the most popular poet in America, or even a poet at all. Before his return from the first trip he had definitely decided to give up attempting to write poetry and had resolved to become a

¹⁵ Longfellow, vol. 1, chap. 11, p. 163.

writer of prose. The resolution to write prose was not well carried out if his works are to be judged either by quantity or literary merit. The single prose composition published during his term at Bowdoin which did not grow directly out of his labors as a teacher has already been mentioned--Outre-Mer. His other literary efforts, such as they were, were given over to translations and critical magazine articles--the type and quality of writing that might be expected from an enterprising language teacher at that time.

But all evidence to the contrary, Longfellow's major interests were not always to lie in the work of an intelligent, conscientious teacher. His nature was to undergo a drastic change from the experiences of the second European visit and even the teaching profession was to lose some of its early fascination. At Bowdoin he had been enthusiastic about his work, and what little unhappiness he had expressed concerning his work there had been occasioned by his desire for a position in a larger school. But at Harvard his attitude toward teaching soon changed. As early as September, 1838, he wrote in his journal, "This dragooning of schoolboys in lessons is like going backward. I don't like it, yet it makes the weeks whirl by at an incredible rate."¹⁶ Longfellow was really deploring the fact that his position in Harvard left him so little time to dream and write.

The Longfellow who took up his duties at Harvard

¹⁶ Longfellow, vol. 1, chap. 19, p. 296.

had had his genius bent in an emotional rather than in an intellectual direction by the events of the second European visit. And first of all among these events stands the death of Mrs. Longfellow, for it was the state of mind which this tragedy produced--to be further intensified by the death of his dearest friend a month later--that made Longfellow receptive to that influence which was to shape his literary career. He was ever one to bear his sufferings silently, and it is only from occasional references in his journal and letters that enable us to glimpse the extent of his sufferings. Two months followed his wife's death before he could bring himself to write his father. "The sense of my bereavement is deep and unutterable,"¹⁷ he writes--a statement which gave a truer insight into his character than he suspected, perhaps, for Longfellow's disappointments and sorrows are not reflected directly in his writings to any considerable degree.

Following his wife's death Longfellow attempted to carry out his original plans for study, and he made an attempt to drown his grief in German studies. Little progress was made in the studies, but Longfellow did become intensely interested in German romanticism. "In the works of Uhland, Herder, Tieck, M ller, Salis, and Goethe, he found those responses to which his nature best reacted,"¹⁸ and in the books of Richter he found "the misty and sentimental philosophy of living which he never outgrew."¹⁹ Everything tended

¹⁷Longfellow, vol. 1, chap. 15, p. 218.

¹⁸Gorman, A Victorian American, chap. 4, p. 191.

¹⁹Ibid., chap. 4, p. 191.

to turn him to romanticism at this time. Subjective and sentimental by nature, grief-stricken among strangers in an old medieval town with its legends, its castle ruins, and its romantic nooks, it is little wonder that the future poet withdrew from the exterior realities of life into a world of contemplation and dreams.

In the America of Longfellow's day--a new country vibrating with life and struggling with the problems that brought on the Civil War--Longfellow occupied a unique position for a national figure. He refused to take an active part in the affairs of the nation, and the problems which were most real to his fellow citizens had little interest for him. On the very eve of the Civil War his journal has this entry, "Dined with Agassiz to meet Emerson and others. I was amused and annoyed to see how soon the conversation dropped off into politics. It was not till after dinner, in the library, that we got upon anything really interesting."²⁰ What a significant statement. A scientist and a poetic philosopher talking politics--certainly not two men who would be interested in trivial things political--and Longfellow amused and annoyed. There in the library after dinner is the poet in his most congenial and characteristic role. After having been unable to write during an uncomfortable day, he sets down this note in his journal, "Now let me try,--the evening having come and the tall candles being lighted."²¹ One can almost see Longfellow writing:

²⁰Longfellow, vol. 2, chap. 12, p. 276.

²¹Ibid., vol. 1, chap. 19, p. 307.

Into the darkness and the hush of night
Slowly the landscape sinks, and fades away,
And with it fades the phantoms of the day,
The ghosts of men and things, that haunt the light.
The crowd, the clamor, the pursuit, the flight,
The unprofitable splendor and display,
The agitations and cares that prey
Upon our hearts, all vanish out of sight.
The better life begins; the world no more
Molests us; all its records we erase
From the dull commonplace book of our lives,
That like a palimpsest is written o'er
With trivial incidents of time and place,
And, lo! the ideal, hidden beneath, revives.²²

This sonnet although written years after his residence in Heidelberg may be taken as a typical manifestation of the change which came over Longfellow's nature there. He withdrew from "men and things" of the day--the things of the day were "ghosts"--into "the better life"; the life of mystical dreams, flitting shadows, and pensive longings.

The first manifestation of the more direct German influence on Longfellow after he entered upon his duties at Harvard is shown in his course of lectures. He wrote his father in May, 1837:

Since my return to Cambridge I have been pretty busily employed. I have a class in German, and shall soon commence my lectures. I give you a sketch of my course:

1. Introduction. History of the French Language.
2. The other Languages of the South of Europe.
3. History of the Northern, or Gothic, Languages.
4. Anglo-Saxon Literature.
- 5, 6. Swedish Literature.
7. Sketch of German Literature.
- 8, 9, 10. Life and Writings of Goethe.
- 11, 12. Life and Writings of Jean Paul Richter.²³

²²H. W. Longfellow, The Complete Poetical Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, "Night" p. 348.

²³Longfellow, vol. 1, chap. 17, p. 251.

The lectures were delivered to the members of the "Senior class and to those members of the Law and Divinity Schools who choose to attend."²⁴ That German literature had made a profound impression on his mind is shown by the fact that one-half of the lectures are devoted to it. And it is worthy of note that Jean Paul Richter, who was to loom so large in Hyperion, is the subject of two of the German lectures. Richter, Longfellow once wrote, is "the most magnificent of the German prose writers."²⁵

The first volume to make its appearance from the hand of Longfellow after he had taken up his residence at Cambridge was Hyperion, the German and Swiss travelogue. This volume appeared in 1839 and was another sketch book like Outre-Mer, but differed from the earlier volume not alone in setting but in spirit as well. Hyperion is the record of one who had come to look on nature more seriously by having had deeper experiences. It lacked those qualities which give a story permanent value, but for the period in which it appeared it was an epoch-making book. Like Irving's Sketch Book and Alhambra, it opened up a new world to America. For the first time continental beauty and romance were brought into American homes, and being so thoroughly saturated in this continental beauty and romance the book naturally became "a Bible to tourists of many nations."²⁶ The atmosphere of the book is thoroughly German--that German

²⁴Longfellow, vol. 1, chap. 17, p. 252.

²⁵Longfellow, vol. 1, chap. 17, p. 249.

²⁶Robertson, Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, chap. 6, p. 85.

atmosphere which attends the stories of the Rhine. There is the slenderest thread of a narrative on which are strung the wild legends of the Rhine, translations of German lyrics, criticisms, and bits of scenery and travel.

In the autumn of 1839 the first volume of Longfellow's poems appeared. It consisted of five "Earlier Poems" which he thought worthy of preservation, a number of translations, and the poems which had come from his pen since he had taken up his Cambridge residence. All the later poems except the "Prelude" had appeared in magazines before they were collected for the public in book form. The little volume was called Voices of the Night, a title particularly appropriate for the poems written after his second European visit. The earlier poems may be wholly disregarded for they might have come from the hand of another in so far as they reflect the character of his later work, but the later poems show the German influence.

"Flowers" seems to have been the first poem composed after Longfellow's return to America, and it illustrates the German note which appeared in American literature then for the first time. The poem was composed on the third of October, 1837, and was sent to a friend with a bouquet of autumnal flowers. In December of the same year it was published in the Knickerbocker under the title of "Floral Astrology." The first stanza contains a German allusion--to Carove who in the "Story without an End" speaks of "flowerets that shine as blue stars in the green firmament

of the earth":

Spake full well, in language quaint and olden,
One who dwelleth by the castled Rhine,
When he called the flowers, so blue and golden,
Stars, that in earth's firmament do shine.²⁷

The remainder of the poem is meditative and mystical, as may be illustrated by the second and third stanzas:

Stars they are, wherein we read our history,
As astrologers and seers of eld;
Yet not wrapped about with awful mystery,
Like the burning stars which they beheld.

Wondrous truths, and manifold as wondrous,
God has written in those stars above;
But not less in the bright flowerets under us
Stands the revelation of his love.²⁸

This German influence is better illustrated in "Footsteps of Angels." Here are the suggestive shadows and hazy outlines, the melancholy longings and the voices of the past:

When the hours of Day are numbered,
And the voices of the Night
Wake the better soul, that slumbered,
To a holy, calm delight;

Ere the evening lamps are lighted,
And, like phantoms grim and tall,
Shadows from the fitful firelight
Dance upon the parlor wall;

Then the forms of the departed
Enter at the open door;
The beloved, the true-hearted,
Come to visit me once more;²⁹

Longfellow was particularly fond of the twilight and it was

²⁷H. W. Longfellow, The Complete Poetical Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, p. 5.

²⁸Ibid., p. 5.

²⁹Ibid., p. 4.

When the hours of day are numbered,
And the voices of the Night
Wake the better soul that slumbered
To a holy, calm delight;³⁰

that he shows a unique kinship to a particular type of German poetry. This phase of Longfellow's poetry is described by the German scholar, Leon Kellner:

As a lyric poet Longfellow is well nigh German in his tenderness and melody, in his experiences and moods. The German evensong (Abendlied) is unique in literature; What language can point to anything like 'Fullest wieder Busch und Thal,' or even 'Die Sonne sank'? Longfellow approaches very closely to the German Abendlied. The cozy twilight, the peaceful evening, the rejuvenating night--to these impressions his soul is most delicately attuned, and to them are we indebted for his most deep-felt, most genuine, one might say most German, verses: 'The Light of the Stars,' 'Hymn to the Night,' 'Footsteps of Angels,' 'The Day Is Done,' 'The Belfry of Bruges.'³¹

The translations in Voices of the Night outnumber the original compositions two to one, and nearly one-half of them are from the German. They seem to have been a labor of love, and one of the purposes underlying the translations was to make known the works of the men he loved. Hence, "fidelity in spirit and letter"³² is the chief characteristic of these translations.

A second volume of poetry was to be written before Longfellow made his third trip to Germany. Early in January, 1840, he wrote to his friend, George W. Greene:

I have broken ground in a new field; namely ballads; beginning with the 'Wreck of the Schooner Hesperus' on the reef of Norman's

³⁰H. W. Longfellow. The Complete Poetical Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, p. 4.

³¹Kellner, American Literature, chap. 5, p. 123.

³²Vincent, American Literary Masters, chap. 8, p. 236.

Woe, in the storm of a fortnight ago. . . .
I think I shall write more. The national
ballad is a virgin soil here in New England;
and there are great materials.³³

In 1841 a volume called Ballads and other Poems was published, a collection which contained four translations in addition to the original poems. Two of the translations were from the German.

In the development of the poet this volume is important in two respects. In the first place, it marks in a way the close of Longfellow's first poetic period--a period in which he wrote almost all of his well known short poems. After his third visit to Germany he was to write his longer popular poems, "The Courtship of Miles Standish," "Hiawatha," and "Evangeline," but only a few short poems such as "Paul Revere's Ride," were to become known in every household like the poems in the first two volumes. In the second place, it was natural that Longfellow should ultimately make use of the ballad form. Uhland, a writer of popular German ballads, was one of his favorite poets, and the likeness of the "The Beleaguered City" in Voices of the Night to the ballads of Uhland was striking. But more important than Longfellow's interest in German ballads was the adaptability of the ballad form to the particular type of poetry which he was writing at this time.

In the ballad Longfellow could well express his romantic inclinations -- his love for the past; his love for colorful pictures mellowed by age; his vague and suggestive

³³Longfellow, vol. 1, chap. 21, p. 342.

imaginativeness.

The general influence of the third trip to Germany was to strengthen those tendencies in Longfellow toward the sentiment and romance of the people in that country. This statement must not be construed to mean that Longfellow became more German in sentiment, for the result was hardly that. Francis H. Underwood makes the following statement about those poems of Longfellow which were written before this visit: "Many of these without being in any sense imitations, could not have been written by any but a German scholar, and one thoroughly in sympathy with the tender and spiritual feeling of the poets who succeeded Goethe."³⁴ This statement is true to a degree for the poems which immediately followed this visit, but broadly speaking these poems give evidence that Longfellow has gone through the German school. There is more of an American flavor in the choice of subjects, at least, even though the treatment is in the German style. Longfellow is ever to remain the poet of sentiment and romance, but his works show more poetical maturity at this time. The pictures are more distinct, more colorful, and have more life.

The results of the third visit may be summed up, perhaps, in four general statements. In the first place, Longfellow read more and deeper in German literature; in the second place, his love for German romance and beauty was strengthened, particularly for the picturesque in age and

³⁴Underwood, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, A Biographical Sketch, p. 70.

story; in the third place, he formed a life-long friendship with one of the leading German poets, many of whose poems he was to translate into English and who in turn was to translate many of Longfellow's poems into German; and lastly, the visit inspired a number of poems, one of which was to give the title to the next volume of poetry, The Belfry of Bruges. Following this trip four volumes appeared which deserve some consideration in relation to the German influence. These works are Poets and Poetry of Europe, 1895; The Belfry of Bruges, 1846; Kavanagh, 1849; and The Golden Legend, 1851.

Poets and Poetry of Europe grew out of the European visits and Longfellow's acquaintance with and appreciation of the literature in the European languages. The volume was a direct result of the German influence only in so far as the German literature with that of some of the other European languages appealed to Longfellow in such a way as to make him want to make this literature accessible to his countrymen. His purpose in compiling such a volume is thus stated in the "Preface" to the collection: "I have attempted only to bring together, into a compact and convenient form as large an amount as possible of those English translations which are scattered throughout many volumes and are not easily accessible to the general reader."³⁵ But it is not unlikely that Longfellow was motivated in part by another purpose quite as definitely as the one he mentions.

³⁵ H. W. Longfellow, Poets and Poetry of Europe, "Preface."

Longfellow was in one sense a missionary; and he thought, no doubt, that in compiling this volume, he was utilizing one means by which he might transplant some of the old world culture to America. Again and again he laments the absence of beauty and artistic appreciation in the general life of the people about him. Such entries in his journal are rather frequent: "Heine, delicious poet for such an hour: What a charm there is about his 'Buch der Lieder.' Ah, here they would be held by most people ridiculous. Many poetic souls there are here, and many lovers of song; but life and its ways and ends are prosaic in this country to the last degree."³⁶ And a few pages farther in his journal is this entry in the same tone: "How few true songs we have in English! And here in America hardly any. Ah, here the heart struggles, and aspires, but does not sing."³⁷

This desire on the part of Longfellow to bring some of the old world culture to America led him to make many translations and write numerous critical articles on foreign literature. Some of these translations and critical articles were incorporated into Poets and Poetry of Europe, but, of course, only a mere fraction of the translations in that volume are by him. He did, however, write all the introductory sketches for each of the languages. Most of the biographical material was written by his friend and colleague, Professor Felton, who, though head of the Greek department

³⁶Longfellow, vol. 2, chap. 2, p. 41.

³⁷Ibid., vol. 2, chap. 2, p. 64.

at Harvard, was also a German scholar. The volume was first published in 1845, and in 1871 Longfellow issued a supplement. Ten European languages were represented and the part given over to German literature comprises about one-fourth of the volume.

In December, 1845, the volume entitled The Belfry of Bruges and Other Poems appeared, but the greater part of these poems had been published previously in magazines. The poem which gives the title to the volume, "The Belfry of Bruges," was finished before Longfellow returned to America in 1842. The volume consisted of six translations--all from the German;--four sonnets, and a number of other original poems similar in tone to the poems in Voices of the Night and Ballads. They are, however, as has already been pointed out, characteristic of the poet's best and later work. Three of the original poems were inspired by the visit to Germany: "The Belfry of Bruges," "Nuremberg," and "Walter Von Der Vogelweid." Both "The Belfry of Bruges" and "Nuremberg" are among the best known of Longfellow's better short poems, although they never became so popular as some of the other poems in the same volume, such as "The Old Clock on the Stairs," and "The Arrow and the Song."

Kavanagh has the distinction of being the least successful of Longfellow's books. Praised as it was by two successful writers of fiction, Hawthorne and Howells, the book, nevertheless, was a disappointment to a large number of Longfellow's friends and admirers. The failure of the

story has been ascribed to various causes: lack of plot; lack of forceful characters; lack of incidents flavoring of real life; its academic atmosphere; and lastly, to the attempt to look at rural society as Jean Paul Richter would have looked at it.

Regardless of whatever relationship each of these bears to the book's failure, it may be freely admitted that the German influence was not contributory to successful fiction. In the first place, New England society was not German society; and in the second place, those qualities which had come to characterize Longfellow's work as the result of the German influence were not the qualities requisite to a successful piece of fiction. Longfellow's abilities lay rather away from than toward the novel. The novel demands clear-cut, positive characters; Longfellow was at his best with vague, shadowy figures. His strength lay in portraying pictures rather than incidents; in relating the simple rather than the complex; in displaying moods rather than passions.

In November 19, 1849, Longfellow wrote in his journal: "And now I long to try a loftier strain, the sublimer song whose broken melodies have for so many years breathed through my soul in the better hours of life, and which I trust and believe will ere long unite themselves into a symphony not all unworthy the sublime theme, but furnishing 'some equivalent expression for the trouble and wrath of life, for its sorrow and its mystery.'"³⁸ The

³⁸Longfellow, vol. 2, chap. 5, p. 151.

"loftier strain" here referred to found expression in The Christus, but the "symphony" was not completed for more than twenty years.

The Golden Legend, although it was to be the second part of trilogy, was the first part written and was published in 1851. The story is told in dramatic form and is based on an ancient German romance, "Der arme Heinrich," by Hartmann von Aue, a minnesinger of the twelfth century. The aim was to present a picture of the Christianity of the Middle Ages.

Longfellow was never very successful in his dramatic attempts, but critics in general have agreed that The Golden Legend is superior to his other dramas. The poem is mainly German in its setting, and it is interesting to note that the home of its hero, Prince Henry, is Vautsberg on the Rhine--the single scene which had deeply appealed to Longfellow on his trip up the Rhine during his first visit to Europe. The characters in the poem are weak, as indeed were the characters in all of Longfellow's works, but the poem has been judged a masterpiece from the standpoint of presenting a series of pictures of medieval life. Ruskin said of this poem: "Longfellow, in his Golden Legend has entered more closely into the temper of the monk, for good and for evil, than ever yet theological writer or historian, though they may have given their life's labor to the analysis."³⁹

Yet high as this praise is and by as competent a critic as Ruskin was, the German scholar and writer Leon

³⁹Ruskin, Modern Painters, vol. 4, Part V, chap. 20, p. 390.

Kellner, has paid tribute to Longfellow's ability to portray medieval life in even more laudatory terms. After pointing out the dramatic weaknesses of the poem, Kellner has this to say:

The Golden Legend is a plastic panorama, in which we behold the life of a German town in the twelfth century from the most varied points of view. And one cannot, indeed, marvel sufficiently at the fidelity with which Longfellow presents all the conditions upon which he touches. He is almost more medieval than his prototype, Hartmann von Aue. The miracle play in the midst of the drama is a little masterpiece of imitation; were we to come across it in some library, in Old English orthography, we should without hesitation declare it to be a valuable find, a production of the thirteenth century.⁴⁰

It is, perhaps, needless to say that The Golden Legend grew out of Longfellow's visits in Germany. It was on these visits that he made the acquaintance of those German writers' works which awakened an interest in medievalism. This interest in medieval subjects led him to give medieval settings to nearly one-half of his poems. And his bent toward medieval subjects once recognized, the fact that The Golden Legend was the first of the trilogy written occasions no surprise. And Longfellow, in this instance at any rate, was at his best when he was writing books from books like his beloved Jean Paul.

"Paid my taxes which gives one a home feeling,"⁴¹ Longfellow wrote in his journal upon his return after the fourth visit to Europe, and thus did the poet again take up the quiet life which he had broken off eighteen months be-

⁴⁰Kellner, American Literature, chap. 5, p. 126.

⁴¹Longfellow, vol. 2, chap. 23, p. 452.

fore. Longfellow had had little time to write while he was on the final European trip. There were a few letters to friends and a couple of entries in his journal, but brief as this record is, it is quite enough in so far as the final trip was to influence his future writings, for Longfellow had not only passed the period of his greatest productivity but what writing he did do after this trip shows little influence of the visit.

The trip had been undertaken for pleasure, but the poet who for several years had often absented himself from public dinners because of the numerous speeches he was called upon to make at such functions, found that in Europe, too, he was to pay the penalty of being famous. His greatest reception was in England, and a few incidents in that country will indicate the manner in which the poet was received. At Cambridge he was publicly admitted to the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws; Oxford conferred the D. C. L., "through Lady Augusta Stanley came an intimation that the Queen would be sorry to have Mr. Longfellow pass through England without her meeting him;"⁴² and at the close of a great dinner in his honor at which he had stipulated there should be no speeches, he was to hear loud calls for Gladstone who in response said, "They [the English] must be permitted to break through the restrictions which the authority of their respected host had imposed upon them, and to give expression to the feelings which one and all entertained on this

⁴²Longfellow, vol. 2, chap. 23, p. 443.

occasion."⁴³ Thus in such a manner passed the days of the quiet, peace-loving man.

Italy, too, recognized the genius of the poet, although there was less public recognition than in England. As for France, his brother tells us that, "The Paris of the Second Empire had little in its literature to interest Mr. Longfellow."⁴⁴ But what about Germany? Only a bare mention is made of the trip up the Rhine and of the German cities visited on the return trip from Italy.

The key to the silence on Germany is probably found in the reference to France. Germany, even more than France, was not the country which Longfellow had earlier visited. The first two visits were made at the very end of the "golden age" in German literature, a period which had also been the "bloom-time" of German romanticism. From 1815 to 1848 romanticism slowly declined, and after the latter date it became history. During this period about twenty romanticists died and only one was born. Realism was on the ascendancy. It was the age of Heine--the age of the young writers to whom Longfellow had given some attention during the third visit in 1842. And it will be recalled that it was Freiligrath, the young romanticist, and not Heine, the realist, who stood at the head of these poets in the estimation of Longfellow. In the German literature of 1868-69 Longfellow would find little to interest him. It was in the works of the romantic German writers that he read with

⁴³Longfellow, vol. 2, chap. 23, p. 445.

⁴⁴Ibid., vol. 2, chap. 23, p. 445.

pleasure.

In its political aspect, Germany, too, was a far different land from the one Longfellow had known in the Heidelberg days. In 1833, near the time of the second visit, Prussia had formed the Zollverein which marked the first step toward the long sought unification of Germany. Now in 1868-69 unification is almost at hand. Prussia has, step by step, attained the ascendancy over the other German states, and the only thing that is lacking to complete the unification is an excuse for Prussia to set herself at the head of the German states. The excuse was soon forthcoming; the Franco-Prussian War was fought and unification was consummated.

This growing national spirit had manifested itself in every phase of German life, and it is almost needless to say that such controversies as had attended the growth of German nationalism were distasteful to Longfellow. The age of romance was past; Germany had ceased to be a "kingdom of the air," and the age of Bismarck was at hand.

The results of the German influence may be broadly summed up in this way: The first result of the influence manifested itself in his choice of subjects for the modern language lectures at Harvard. Six of the twelve lectures were devoted to German writers and German literature, and Longfellow's enthusiasm for that literature is probably indicated quite as much by the following note in his journal

as by the number of lectures devoted to it: "Examination in Modern Languages. The Spanish classes did well; the Italian not so well; the German best of all, as is usually the case."⁴⁵

The second result of the influence, not second in point of time but second only as a necessary division of the results, had a cultural aspect. Longfellow, as a missionary one might say, made the old world culture accessible not alone to the students in his classrooms but to the American reading public at large. By writing Hyperion he brought German romance and beauty into America for the first time, and to near the end of his life he was to continue this cultural aspect of his work by writing critical articles, by translating poems, and by compiling all existing translations possible into a convenient and handy form.

The third result of the influence lies in the substance of his literary compositions. German life, German people, German institutions, all are to be found as subjects in his fiction, in his plays, and in his poems.

And the fourth and by far the most important result of the German influence lies in the fact that Longfellow became a poet of romance and sentiment. It was the German influence which gave his genius this bent. It is this quality in his work which led Fred Lewis Pattee to declare that "Touch Longfellow where you will and you will find the German romance."⁴⁶

⁴⁵Longfellow, vol. 2, chap. 2, p. 49.

⁴⁶Pattee, Sidelights on American Literature, p. 239.

John Lothrop Motley, 1814-1877

John Lothrop Motley was the last of that group of American men of letters who studied at Göttingen in the early part of the nineteenth century. His name is often associated with Ticknor's, Bancroft's, and Everett's because his early training and his activities in later life quite closely paralleled that of these men. But Motley in reality belonged to a later generation. At the time Bancroft was teaching at Round Hill, Motley was one of his pupils--a precocious lad of ten who showed marked ability in languages. Of his work at Round Hill, Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote, "While at that school he made an acquisition much less common than now, a knowledge of the German language and some degree of acquaintance with its literature, under the guidance of one of the few German scholars this country then possessed, Mr. George Bancroft."¹

Motley went to Harvard from Round Hill. He entered that institution in 1827--at the age of thirteen--and was graduated in 1831. To Harvard he brought the reputation of being an accomplished linguist, and his familiarity with the German language and literature accounts, no doubt, for the two or three literary achievements in his student days which have been remembered. The first of these was a translation from Goethe. This translation was published in the Harvard Collegian and was Motley's first appearance in print.

¹Holmes, The Writings of Oliver Wendell Holmes, vol. 9, chap. 1, p. 335. (This work is referred to hereafter as "Holmes.")

The second was a speech on Goethe made at one of the college exhibitions. Of this Cogswell thought so highly that he had it copied off and "sent to Madam Goethe, who after reading it, said, 'I wish to see the first book that young man will write.'"²

On a whole Motley's work at Harvard was not characteristic of the work of his maturity. He was wilful, relied on his ability rather than on industry, and showed no tenacity of purpose. He was rusticated for lack of responsibility, and although he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, the election was made possible only by the suspension of one of the rules.

Motley went to Göttingen in 1832, and like the other Americans who preceded him there, he spent the first few months studying German under Benecke. As soon as he gained greater facility with the language, he began to attend the lectures, his principal interests being in civil and international law. He was not particularly enthusiastic about the University or the town. To his parents he wrote, "It is at all events not worth one's while to remain long at Göttingen, because most of the professors who were ornaments of the University are dead or decayed, and the town itself is excessively dull."³

Motley went on several walking tours while at Göttingen. But perhaps the most outstanding event there was

²Holmes, chap. 2, p. 340.

³Curtis, The Correspondence of John Lothrop Motley, vol. 1, chap. 2, p. 25. (This work is referred to hereafter as "Curtis.")

the beginning of a lifelong friendship with the man who was later to be the predominant figure in Europe--Bismarck. Two other Germans he also came to know who became eminent in their respective fields: Herr Von Kanitz, the Prussian diplomat, and Count Hermann Keyserling, the botanist.

From Göttingen Motley went to Berlin, where he continued law studies and heard Savigny lecture. There he lived in the same house with Bismarck, who had also gone to Berlin to study. Motley remained in Berlin until 1834, leaving the University at that time to travel in Europe. He first traveled in Germany, meeting among others Madam Goethe and Tieck. The meeting with the latter, he said, partially compensated for his disappointment in not being able to meet Goethe, who had died before Motley reached Germany. After leaving Germany, Motley traveled in Austria, France, Italy, and Great Britain for a year before returning home.

Motley was in Germany many times during his life, but no other period there need be singled out for special attention except his residence in Dresden from 1851 to 1853. Finding that he could not properly write the Rise of the Dutch Republic in America, he discarded all he had written and went to the Low Countries, where he would have access to the libraries and state documents. He first settled at Dresden and later at Brussels. In both cities Motley devoted his time almost exclusively to the History. Armed by Ticknor with letters of introduction to those who stood

high in Dresden society, Motley could have moved in the society of the court had he so desired. Lady Byron once said that he resembled her husband more than any man she had ever known, and Bismarck wrote, "He never entered a drawing-room without exciting the curiosity and sympathy of the ladies."⁴ Nevertheless, despite Motley's natural qualifications to enter society, society appealed slightly to him. Once or twice he was obliged to attend court, and to his mother he wrote, "These things are to me so insipid that I am unable to extract juice enough out of them to flavor a letter with."⁵ And then follows one of those colorful strokes typical of Motley's style, "His Majesty is a mild old gentleman, wadded and bolstered into very harmonious proportions. He has a single tooth worn carelessly on one side, which sometimes interferes with his eloquence."⁶

Motley and his wife, though leading rather solitary lives in Dresden, found pleasure in going to the theater and to the art gallery. For paintings especially Motley had an appreciation and what he called an "unlimited love."⁷ Certain characteristics in Motley's style have often been compared to painting. Oliver Wendell Holmes says, "There is a certain affinity between those sumptuous and glowing works of art and the prose pictures of the historian who so admired them. He was himself a colorist in language, and called up the image of a great personage or a splendid

⁴Holmes, chap. 3, p. 343.

⁵Curtis, vol. 1, chap. 5, p. 150.

⁶Ibid., p. 150.

⁷Ibid., p. 135.

pageant of the past with the same affluence, the same rich vitality, that floods and warms the vast areas of canvas over which the full-fed genius of Rubens disported itself in the luxury of imaginative creation."⁸

Of all those Americans who studied in Germany thus far considered, Motley unquestionably was the least influenced in his later work by that country. He went to Germany to study law specifically, and although he continued to read law after he came home, he had little liking for the study and soon gave it up entirely.

Motley was ambitious to become a literary man, and in 1839 his first work appeared, a novel in two volumes called Morton's Hope. This work was largely autobiographical. In it are found the experiences of the young Motley, three characters who are his German friends, Bismarck, Kanitz, and Keyserling, slightly disguised, and his boyhood aspirations, "flung together" says Oliver Wendell Holmes, "with no more regard to the unities than a pack of shuffled playing-cards."⁹

Morton's Hope was an unqualified failure, and two years later Motley went to Russia to represent the United States in the diplomatic service. This work he found uncongenial and after a few months returned home. The trip to Russia was not without literary fruits, for upon his return to America Motley contributed two articles to the

⁸Holmes, chap. 10, p. 382.

⁹Ibid., chap. 4, p. 346.

North American Review on Russian subjects the quality of which indicated clearly that he was predestined to make his mark as an author. These articles were followed by another novel, Merry-Mount, with a New England setting, the success of which exceeded that of Morton's Hope at only one point. The North American Review merely printed the name of Morton's Hope under its list of new publications, while to Merry-Mount it devoted nearly twenty pages attempting to prove that early Massachusetts was not the proper setting for a novel.

From this time on to the end of his life Motley was either engaged in diplomatic service or in writing Dutch history. In the former he was not particularly successful; in the latter he attained a high degree of success. By the time he had begun work on the History he had been to Germany three times, and although he was to be in that country many more times before the end of his life the later trips contributed little to his work, save in the way of affording materials.

Only in the first novel is there any reflection of the period of study in Germany. Holmes says of this work, "In no other of Motley's writings do we get such an inside view of his character with its varied impulses, its capricious appetites, its unregulated forces, its impatient grasp for all kinds of knowledge. With all his university experience at home and abroad, it might be said with a large measure of truth that he was a self-educated man, as

he had been a self-taught boy."¹⁰

In this statement is perhaps found the most vital contribution which Germany made to the author. It was not from studies in law, but from the people themselves that Motley was to get the most. He saw the human side of European life. Germany was still under the influence of the men who had created its "golden age" of literature. Intellectually Germany was throbbing with life, and the intellectual atmosphere deeply impressed him yet he never lost his American point of view.

On the surface it would seem that Motley's methods of research owed much to his German training, but this seems not to be the case. Motley's methods of work in early and later life are well contrasted by Wendell Phillips who wrote of Motley's historical works, "I did wonder at the diligence and painstaking, the drudgery shown in his historical works. In early life he had no industry, not needing it. All he cared for in a book he caught quickly,--the spirit of it, and all his mind needed or would use. The quickness of apprehension was marvellous."¹¹

With this setting one might make out a case for Germany influence by adding the statement of Bismarck's, "With German thoroughness you have begun with the Roman period for my satisfaction and that of my country people."¹² Or again the statement of Ruth Putman that from Tieck and

¹⁰Holmes, chap. 4, p. 352.

¹¹Ibid., chap. 1, p. 334.

¹²St. John Mildman, John Lothrop Motley and His Family, chap. 3, p. 67.

other German scholars "he learned what minute research could be."¹³ But evidence that Motley caught from the Germans his later habits of thoroughness seems to be lacking. German scholarship no doubt contributed to the development of his habits of thorough research, but these habits must have developed naturally for the most part. Motley's novels would have foreshadowed the future painstaking historian had they not contained one conspicuous fault: "The most extraordinary anachronisms in almost every chapter."¹⁴ Had Motley caught from the Germans habits of accuracy, he would hardly have come home and produced a work conspicuous for carelessness.

Motley's schooling in Germany will be remembered longest by the friendship which he and Bismarck began at that time. This friendship was continued to the end of Motley's life, and it is hardly reasonable to believe from the diverse character of the two men that the one did not in any way influence the other. Two men could hardly have been farther apart in their theories of government. The attitude of Motley is well shown when he wrote of his first History, "If ten people in the world hate despotism a little more and love civil and religious liberty a little better in consequence of what I have written, I shall be satisfied."¹⁵ Such an attitude would go far in explaining Bismarck's statement to Holmes: "Pertinacious arguer, so

¹³Cambridge History of American Literature, Part 2, chap. 18, p. 133.

¹⁴Holmes, chap. 4, p. 352.

¹⁵St. John Mildman, John Lothrop Motley and His Family, chap. 3, p. 42.

much so that sometimes he watched my awakening in order to continue a discussion on some topic of science, poetry, or practical life, cut short by the chime of the small hours, he never lost his mild and amiable temper."¹⁶

The important part of this lifelong friendship, however, was that Motley's familiarity with Bismarck enabled him to see the master mind at work as no other man of his time. Motley once wrote that he knew Bismarck better than any other man alive. From this close intimacy has come through their correspondence a few insights into the character of the German which revealed certain unknown traits.

The results of Motley's study in Germany may be summed up under three points: first, he was deeply impressed by the awakened intellectual spirit, retaining at the same time his native point of view; second, he saw what minute research was, even though his schooling may have had little to do with his own painstaking methods; and third, this schooling made possible for him a close friendship with Bismarck, which resulted in a correspondence that revealed certain unknown characteristics of the master-statesman. Other influences there might have been and probably were. "It is," says Bassett, "to be regretted that no adequate biography of the man has been written. The volumes

¹⁶Holmes, chap. 3, p. 343.

of his letters that have been published seemed to be more concerned with showing what fine company Motley kept than revealing the manner in which he mastered his craft."¹⁷ And to this statement may be added that Motley cared little for that "fine company."

¹⁷Bassett, The Middle Group of American Historians, chap. 4, p. 224.

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